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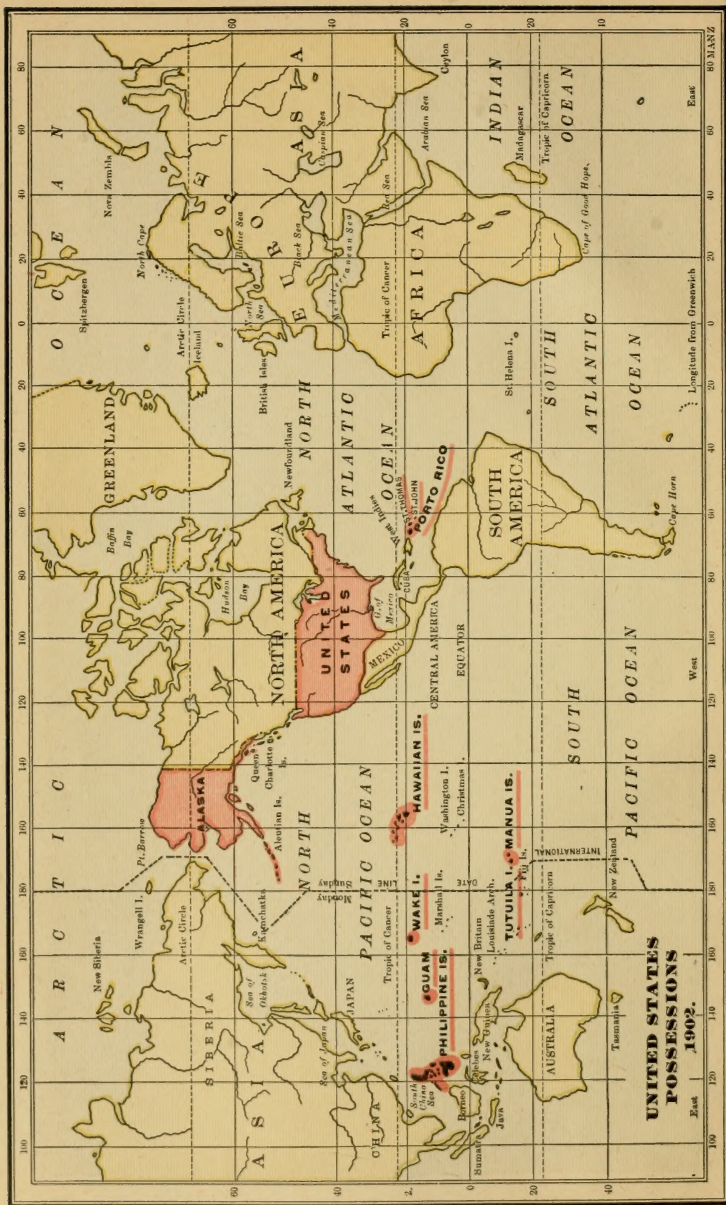


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THE UNITED STATES

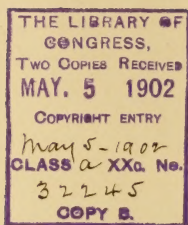
BY

WILLIAM M. DAVIDSON

SUPERINTENDENT OF SCHOOLS, TOPEKA, KANSAS

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PREFACE

No other nation in the history of the world presents a more thrilling narrative than does the United States of America. As we glance back across the centuries, the name America, as first written four centuries ago, is seen but dimly through the mist of history. To-day it is written in large letters on the map of the world. Its opportunities have multiplied and grown with the centuries, likewise its responsibilities. The rapid march of events in the national life the past few years has brought it into a larger place in the eyes of the civilized world than ever before. As teachers, we must realize this, and our boys and girls must be made to feel, as they pursue the narrative of our country's history, that they themselves are in its very current. As they contemplate our country's struggles, and its glorious achievements, they must be made to feel that the perpetuity of national life depends upon the uprightness of individual life: that no nation is truly great, nor can ever remain great, except it be founded upon pure and happy homes, and upon that nobility of character which reveals itself at all times and everywhere in the integrity of both the private and the public life of each individual citizen of the republic.

The writer of this book has tried to tell simply and plainly the story of our country's history. The sources from which he has drawn his material include all the standard histories of the United States, to all of which he acknowledges his indebtedness. His thanks are especially due to Professor E. E. Sparks of the University of Chicago, who inspired him to undertake the task of telling the story of his country's progress, and who gave full permission to use from his

"Expansion of the American People" such material as would be of service in the growth chapters,—VI, X, XII, and XVI,—which are a feature of the book. Special acknowledgment is also made to Professor Frank H. Hodder of the University of Kansas, for many valuable suggestions secured from his outlines of American history and his progressive map study. A few personal friends have kindly aided with many valuable suggestions, and several of these friends have read every line of proof and in divers ways have encouraged the completion of the book. To all these the author expresses his sincere thanks.

Believing thoroughly that geography and history go hand in hand; indeed, that "history is geography in motion," a large number of relief and surface maps have been inserted at appropriate places in the text. These maps, it is felt, will appeal at once to every teacher of history, as it is now accepted by all historians that places of settlement, growth of population, and even the issues of battles have been largely determined by the physical features of the country.

The full-page portraits of Columbus, Washington, Lincoln, and McKinley represent the men who stand in the country's history for Discovery, Independence, Union, and Expansion, and that of Roosevelt, for the present President, while the groups of portraits bring together faces and names that may well be indelibly stamped on the child's mind as leaders in important crises.

One departure will be found in the insertion in the body of the book of the full text of the Declaration of Independence and of the Constitution of the United States, which are usually placed in the Appendix of our school histories, where the temptation on the part of both teacher and pupil is to neglect them altogether. The writer believes thoroughly that the time when the Declaration of Independence or the Constitution should be read is at the moment when the pupil's enthusiasm is aroused therein. The teacher should understand that they are not inserted in the body of the

book for purposes of detailed study. However, they should be read, and all salient points emphasized sufficiently to cause the pupils to realize the importance of these two great national documents.

The book is numbered by sections throughout for teaching purposes, and has been written with the teacher and the needs of the pupil constantly in mind. It is believed that one of its strong features rests in the fact that it will reduce itself readily and easily to teaching processes. Nothing which would detract the attention of the pupil from the thread of the story, either in the form of notes or references appear. It is felt that the book is constructed on a logical and sound pedagogical plan. An effort has been made to make the history one connected story, from the first section to the last section in the book. A few valuable tables appear at the close.

W. M. DAVIDSON.

TOPEKA, KANSAS,
April, 1902.

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CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS
AFTER ST. GAUDENS' STATUE

CHAPTER I

FINDING A CONTINENT

COLUMBUS, 1492-1504

1. Discovery of the New World.—At sunset on the evening of October 11, 1492, three Spanish caravels were ploughing the waves of an unknown sea at a rapid rate. On board all was expectancy and watchfulness, made so by the indomitable will and the undiminished enthusiasm of the great navigator, who, ten weeks before, had set sail from Palos, Spain, in search of a western passage to the Golden Indies of the east. In spite of pleadings to return home, in spite of mutiny and continuous discontent, in spite of threats to cast him into the sea, he kept on his western course,—by his forbearance subduing his men, and by his courage and his hopefulness winning them to his purpose and his plans. On that memorable night not an eye was closed in sleep. It had been announced by the heroic admiral that he thought it probable they would make land ere the morning. The greatest animation prevailed throughout the fleet—the *Pinta* taking the lead, the *Santa Maria* following, and the *Nina* in the rear.

To the admiral the moment was indeed a critical one. Should his prediction fail him now, his last hope of controlling the turbulent crews would be gone forever. Already the dusk of evening had settled upon the sea when he took his station on top of the castle of the *Santa Maria* and with eager eye scanned the western horizon. At ten o'clock at night there burst upon his vision a gleam of light as if it were a

torch in a fisherman's canoe, dancing on the waves, or from a signal light in the hands of some human being rushing from place to place upon the shore. The first to behold that light, he alone of all on board attached any importance to its transient gleams until, at two o'clock on the morning of October 12, 1492, a gun from the *Pinta* was followed by the joyful shout of "Land! Land!"—and Christopher Columbus became the discoverer of the western continent, and gave a new world to Castile and Leon, "the like of which was never done by any man in ancient or in later times."

2. Principal Cause Leading to the Discovery.—When, on the morning of the discovery, Columbus landed on one of the islands now known as the Bahamas, and, calling it *San Salvador*, took possession in the name of Spain, the event marked the beginning of a new era in the world's history.

Since the time of the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, many learned men had held to the theory that the earth is round, and that by sailing west on the "sea of darkness," as the Atlantic was then called, the mariner would be brought to the eastern coast of Asia. Prior to the fifteenth century, the discussion of these theories had been confined to literary circles, and had largely occupied the attention of men of thought rather than men of action.

The march of progress among European nations had reached a point which demanded a larger field of operation. Material wealth and prosperity, rapidly increasing, had created a demand for the luxuries of the far east. A heavy trade had sprung up between Europe and Asia, carried on in the south by caravan over the Isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, thence by vessel through that sea, or by camel train across the Arabian deserts to the Persian Gulf; and, in the north by way of the Black and Caspian Seas. The skilled Venetian sailors and the successful merchants of Venice dominated the one; the far-famed Genoese sailors and merchants, the other. By the middle of the century these

routes, however, were made very dangerous from the attacks of the Ottoman Turks, who were at war with the Christian nations of Europe. With the fall of Constantinople at their hands in 1453 trade was almost suppressed. From a commercial point of view, therefore, the theory of the scholars that the earth is round and that the East Indies and the shores of Asia could be reached by sailing westward, appealed powerfully to the business world. The dream of the scholar became the demand of the merchant.

3. Other Causes Leading to the Discovery.—Greed of power caused the reigning kings of Europe to reach out after more territory over which they might spread their dominion. A desire to carry the Gospel to heathen lands moved the authorities of the church to favor the project of seeking a shorter route to Asia. Men interested in science and letters desired to see the fulfillment of their prophecies.

Through long use, navigators had come to put their trust in the mariner's compass, and the boldest had begun to lay out highroads on the trackless ocean. Confidence in that little instrument, was soon to revolutionize commerce, to free even the timid sailor from the coast, and give him courage to push out into the sea. With this rising confidence, there was to spring into existence a vehement desire for the discovery of unknown lands.

The invention of printing from movable type in the early part of the fifteenth century was exerting a silent but powerful influence upon all the active countries of Europe at this time. The human mind was freeing itself. Intelligence was on the increase. A desire had taken possession of the public mind to know more of the world and its peoples.

4. Conditions in Europe.—At the time of the discovery, Europe was ready for just such an event in the world's history. She was enjoying a short respite from the habitual toil of war. Spain had conquered the Moor and all but banished him from her borders after centuries of strife. The

civil war in England, known as the War of the Roses, had ceased, and Henry VII. was restoring peace to the English nation; even the Italian countries and France and Portugal were free from strife. During this period of political calm among the nations of Europe, there was a deep feeling of unrest, which, accelerated by the development of commerce with Asia and the islands of the eastern seas, the perfecting of the mariner's compass, and the art of printing, manifested itself in the desire for discovery and conquest.

Naturally, the countries of Europe where this feeling of unrest was strongest, were those which commerce had quickened first, namely, those bordering upon the Mediterranean Sea and those looking outward upon the Atlantic. Hence, it was that at the close of the fifteenth century, the great powers of the world were beset with this universal passion for discovery.

5. The Portuguese and the Route to India.—Under the influence of this new impulse, Portugal, on account of her outward position upon the Atlantic, had led all other countries of Europe in the desire to extend the geographical knowledge of the world. Prince Henry the Navigator, had made his little country famous. Portuguese sailors were seen and known in every port. They boldly pushed out into the sea, and in the early part of the century discovered the Azores, the Madeira, and the Cape Verd Islands. By the middle of the century they had reached the coast of Africa as far south as Upper Guinea and returned to Lisbon laden with gold-dust, ivory, and gums. Pope Nicholas V. immediately, on the strength of this later discovery, granted the Portuguese the possession of the lands and many of the islands already discovered, and of any further discoveries they should make as far east as India. They later reached Lower Guinea and the mouth of the Congo, and, in 1486, Bartholomew Dias reached the southern point of Africa, which King John II. of Portugal, named the Cape of Good Hope. It is not surprising, therefore, that this enterprising little nation persisted

in its effort to find a new route to Asia, and that Vasco da Gama twelve years later (1498) rounded the Cape, crossed the Indian Ocean, and anchored safely in the harbor of Calicut.

6. Christopher Columbus.—In the affairs of men and of nations, it has usually happened, that when an emergency has arisen, the man has been found ready for the hour. At this time there appeared upon the scene the son of a Genoese woolcomber. The father had done valiant service for the king of Portugal as one of his able navigators. On his death he had bequeathed his charts and maps to his son who had inherited his passion for the sea. Christopher Columbus was the most conspicuous navigator of his age, and is clearly entitled to the distinction, The Great Navigator. He combined the learning of the scholar with a practical knowledge of the sea. This tall seaman of "grave and gentle manner, though noble and saddened look," was indeed an enthusiast of the most pronounced type, in whom the "passion for discovery rose to the dignity of an inspiration." For eighteen long, weary years he importuned monarchs and merchants, courts and bankers, for ships and men, that he might set out upon the western route to Asia. He sent his brother, Bartholomew, to England, but King Henry VII. gave a deaf ear to his appeal. France likewise lost her opportunity. King John II. of Portugal was encouraging his own seamen to make India by way of the Cape of Good Hope; he, therefore, could not be interested. The Italian merchants and bankers could not be induced to invest in the enterprise without its first having received the support of some powerful monarch.

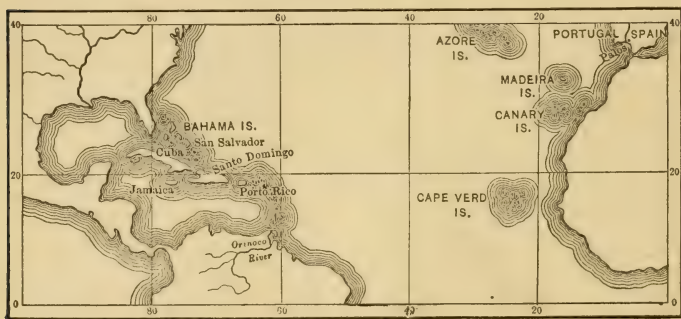
Spain at this time was approaching the zenith of her power and was ready for new fields of conquest; still, she refused Columbus assistance. Discouraged, he was,

The fountain of his spirit's prophecy
Sinking away and wasting, drop by drop.
In the ungrateful sands of skeptic ears.

—Lowell's "*Columbus*."

But he was a man who knew no such word as fail. His whole life had been one of hardship. At the age of thirty his hair was white, made so by the suffering and hardships which he had endured. At last success crowned his efforts, and the jewels of the queen of Spain became security for the successful prosecution of his proposed enterprise. Thus, to Ferdinand and Isabella, king and queen of Castile, fell the honor of having first given encouragement and substantial aid to the discoverer of the New World.

7. First Voyage of Columbus.—The three historic caravels with musical names were furnished him by Spain, but his



task was still a difficult one. It was not easy to secure crews for these ships when the nature of the voyage became known. Only the boldest sea captains ventured out of sight of land. The vast majority of sailors in those days were timid, very ignorant, and superstitious. Noticing that a ship seemed to be sailing "down hill" as it went out into the ocean, they reasoned that should it go too far, it could never sail "up hill" on its return. Notwithstanding the long use of the mariner's compass, still by the ordinary ship's crew it was looked upon with superstitious awe.

By dint of much persuasion, promises of great reward and finally, by the use of force, crews were at last secured. They set sail amidst great rejoicing from Palos, Spain, on

the third of August, 1492. First sailing south to the Canary Islands, they boldly took a westerly course, and in ten weeks landed on the island which Columbus named San Salvador. Just which one of the Bahamas Columbus touched upon will probably never be known.

From thence he sailed south to the coast of Cuba and Santo Domingo, taking possession of those islands in the name of the king and queen of Spain, Ferdinand and Isabella. Having lost his flagship, the Santa Maria, in a storm, he sailed for home, taking with him several natives, whom he called Indians, because he thought the island a part of the East Indies. He also brought back with him many curiosities from these new lands. His return to Spain was hailed with joy by the king and queen, who bestowed great honors upon him.

8. Effects of the Discovery.—Perhaps no single event in history surpasses in importance this first voyage of Columbus. It is true he did not discover the mainland of North America, but he opened up the way, thereby making its discovery an easy matter.

The return of Columbus set the world on fire. The printing press in every city of Europe spread the news broadcast throughout the continent. "The revelation of the amazing fact that there were lands beyond the great ocean, inhabited by strange races of human beings, roused to passionate eagerness the thirst for fresh discoveries."

Three powerful motives urge man to action—the desire for wealth, the desire for power, and the desire to spread his peculiar religious tenets. These caused the voyage of Columbus, the success of which threw open a vast field for the exploitation of each. The business world, the governing class, the church, responded with alacrity to the call, and the sea of darkness was soon ablaze with the sail of the adventurer and the explorer, to be followed later by the white sails of commerce.

9. Later Voyages of Columbus.—Columbus made three

other voyages to the New World. In the autumn of 1494 with a large expedition he set sail on his second voyage for the purpose of taking possession of the new-found islands. He explored the southern coast of Cuba; founded a colony on Santo Domingo; and discovered the islands of Jamaica and Porto Rico. He returned to Spain in 1496 to solicit reënforcements, provisions, and funds.

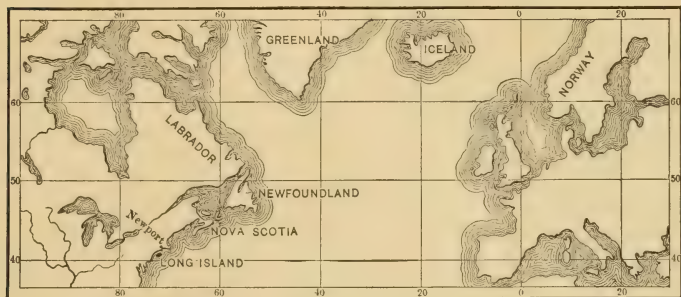
On his third voyage, in 1498, he touched upon the continent of South America, having reached the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco River. Notwithstanding that he believed the Orinoco to be a continental river, he still held to the view that he was upon the eastern coast of Asia. Proceeding thence to the colony which he had founded in Santo Domingo he found he had been superseded in command by a new governor who preferred charges of cruelty against Columbus and sent him in chains to Spain. On his arrival there the charges against him were investigated and he was released at once.

On his fourth and last voyage, made in 1502-1504, he explored the coast of Central America, while still in quest of a "waterway to the far east." No man ever held more tenaciously to an idea than did Columbus to his belief in the direct western passage. Though he heard rumors of an ocean lying beyond Central America, he still persisted that it must be the Indian Ocean.

He returned to Spain, and, it is said, died in poverty and distress in 1506, neglected by his king and his fellow-countrymen.

10. The Norsemen in America—1000, A. D.—It is believed by some historians that America was first discovered by Europeans in the year 1000—five hundred years before Columbus set foot upon the island of San Salvador. This first discovery is represented to have been made by the Vikings of Norway and Iceland. It is held that these hardy and bold seamen crossing from Greenland, ranged the shores of Labrador, Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, and the New Eng-

land coast as far south as Long Island Sound. They gave the name Vinland to the southern portion of this new country on account of its yielding grapes in abundance. Even the names of some of these early explorers have been handed down—that of Lief Ericson being the most prominent among them. It is claimed that settlements were made at several points along the coasts of the region explored and that remains of these early settlements have been found from



northern Labrador to Newport. The most noted ruin pointed out is that of the Old Mill at Newport. Some authorities insist that there never were any such voyages, even holding that the Newport Tower was built centuries later than the time of Lief Ericson; while still others believe that the Vikings touched upon the shores of northern Labrador in the tenth or the eleventh century. It took five centuries of most severe schooling to prepare the European for the task of conquering and peopling a new continent. But when the time did come and the cry of "Land! Land!" rose joyfully from the deck of the Spanish caravel in the western seas, Europe was ready, and the whole continent responded with enthusiasm to the call. Not to the son of Eric the Red, whose voyages are all but lost in the mythland of history, but to the son of the Genoese woolcomber belongs the glory of the discovery of America.

CHAPTER II

THE RACE FOR POSSESSION

SPANISH, 1492-1582

PORTUGUESE, 1500-1502

FRENCH, 1524-1687

DUTCH, 1609-1613

ENGLISH, 1497-1607

11. The Line of Demarcation.—The opening of the sixteenth century was marked by great activity in Spain. Exploring expeditions were leaving her ports thick and fast for the New World.

According to a papal decree issued from Rome in 1493, on account of the Columbus discovery Spain was to have all lands, no matter by whom discovered, lying west of a line drawn from the North to the South Pole at a distance of one hundred leagues to the west of the Azores and Cape Verd Islands.



This line as at first

drawn not being satisfactory, it was located in the following year, by treaty between Spain and Portugal, three hundred and seventy leagues west of the Cape Verd Islands. It is known in history as the Line of Demarcation, and crossed Brazil east of the mouth of the Amazon River. Upon this decree of a Roman pontiff the Spanish and the

Portuguese divided their interests. In the course of events the latter directed their attention to Brazil, the coast of Africa, and the eastern route to India; the former, to the West Indies, the lands bordering upon the Gulf of Mexico, and that portion of South America lying west of Brazil.

England and France, feeling that they had lost their great opportunity in not having extended aid to Columbus, looked askance at this decree of Pope Alexander VI., and later disputed the right of the papal authority thus to dispose of the undiscovered lands of the world.

The French, during the century, entered the continent of North America by way of the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes; later, they pushed down the Mississippi valley, penetrating as far south as Texas. The English preëmpted the Atlantic Coast, from Nova Scotia to Florida. Even the Dutch, on the strength of a later discovery, laid claim to the stretch of the Atlantic seaboard from Narragansett Bay to the Delaware River. Thus, in the course of two centuries, the Line of Demarcation was ignored altogether.

THE SPANISH

12. Impelling Motives.—The Spaniard was quick to follow up the advantage gained by the discoveries and voyages of Columbus. Having pushed the hated Moor across the border to the land from whence he came, he was ready for new fields of conquest. Other nations were to be conquered, and heathen peoples converted. The four voyages of Columbus had served to surround the New World problem with a glamour. The “riches of the Indies” was still the cry. “The splendors of the newly-found world were, indeed, difficult to be resisted. The wildest romances were greedily received and the Old World, with its familiar and painful realities, seemed mean and hateful beside the fabled glories of the New. It was rumored that gold and precious jewels abounded everywhere. Wealth beyond the wildest dreams of

avarice could be had for the gathering." Even the fabled "fountain of perpetual youth" became a fixed belief and began to allure men into the western seas. It took a century's sacrifice of blood and treasure to convince the Spaniard of his error. He eagerly entered into the search for gold, and to aid him in his venture began the planting of colonies. He was a great explorer; all honor to him. But he failed as a colonizer because colonization required honest toil and infinite patience—the latter he had not; the former, he would not give. Nevertheless, the Spaniard has left his mark upon the western continent and has handed down a long list of early explorers, many of whom were kindled by a lofty zeal to extend the dominion of Spain over the whole of the New World. All of the islands of the West Indies were soon discovered and explored, and the adjacent coasts of the mainland lay stretched out as an invitation to greater discoveries in an unknown land. The mystery of it all appealed to the imagination and fired the Spanish mind to further deeds of conquest and of glory.

13. Ponce de Leon Discovered Florida—1513.—Ponce de Leon had been a companion and friend of Columbus on his second voyage, and had imbibed much of the great navigator's enthusiasm. While governor of the eastern part of the island of Hayti, he was filled with an ambition to effect the conquest of the island of Porto Rico. This he did after



THE SPANISH CLAIMS

a fearful campaign of slaughter, opening up the island to Spanish colonization. While acting as the first governor of Porto Rico, and meditating upon the fact that he was past the prime of life, his imagination was fired by a fable which was current among the Spanish colonists in the western world, that there existed in one of the islands of the Bahamas a fountain whose waters possessed the magic power of restoring youth to old age. As strange as it may seem, this man of intelligence gave a credulous ear to these Indian rumors, and though laughed at by his associates in the colony and his friends at the court of Spain, he still persisted in the belief, and asked that the king might give him authority to organize an expedition and grant him permission to discover the island. The king, feeling kindly disposed toward de Leon, lent him assistance which soon put him on the tramp in search of this fountain of perpetual youth.

To this incredulous belief is due the discovery of the North American continent by de Leon. Though he did not find his fountain, he did discover Florida in 1513, finding it a land of flowers and singing birds and tropical fruits, though inhabited by many hostile savage tribes. He planted the cross, sang the Spanish song of discovery, and added Florida to the domain of Spain.

14. Balboa and the Pacific Ocean—1513.—Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, said also to have been a companion of Columbus, planted a colony on the coast of the Isthmus of Panama. Hearing the rumor, to which Columbus had turned a deaf ear, of a vast sea beyond the high mountains, he determined to learn the truth for himself. Accordingly, in the face of great natural obstacles and the hostility of native tribes, with a little band of seventy-five followers, he was led by a native guide to the summit of a lofty peak, from which he beheld the vast expanse of the Pacific Ocean. Two weeks later he descended to its shores, and amidst great pomp and splendor, took possession of all the lands touching upon its waters in the name of the king of Spain.

15. Cortez Conquers the Aztecs—1519-1521.—Hernando Cortez had come to the New World in 1504 and won renown as a soldier in the conquest of Cuba. On the discovery of Mexico, the governor of Cuba was seized with a desire to subdue the land of the Aztecs and place the Empire of Montezuma under Spanish rule. Cortez was given command of an expedition in order that he might carry out the governor's plans. He landed on the coast of Mexico in 1519 with his army of conquest. He founded Vera Cruz, and after dramatically burning his ships so that neither soldier nor sailor could think of returning home, he marched inland. He at first met with bloody resistance, but was finally permitted to enter the capital unmolested. Establishing himself in one of the strong fortresses of the city, he made a prisoner of the Aztec emperor, Montezuma, and soon brought down upon his head the wrath of the Aztec chieftains on account of his despotic cruelty. The natives, biding their time, laid siege to the fortress, and ere the army of invasion was aware, it was surrounded by a vast horde of Aztec tribes, cutting off every avenue of escape. The alternative was offered Cortez of certain death by starvation, or possible death in an attempt to cut his way out. His prisoner, Montezuma, having been accidentally killed by his own subjects in a parley, his last hope was gone. In a desperate and bloody encounter, he cut his way through the Aztec lines and succeeded in reaching a friendly tribe with but a remnant of his men. He soon returned to the struggle, and, after fearful destruction of life and property, the Aztec yielded to the Spaniard and the empire of the Montezumas passed to the domain of Spain. The destruction of this Indian empire in the heart of Mexico, comprising the most enlightened and highly civilized people in the western continent, constitutes one of the most pathetic chapters in early New World history, and is paralleled only by the overthrow of the Incas in Peru by the cruel Pizzaros in 1531-34. The history of both conquests has been preserved in imperish-

able literature by the historian Prescott in his thrilling and fascinating volumes on the "Conquest of Mexico," and the "Conquest of Peru."

16. Magellan Discovers Straits of Magellan—1520 : Philippine Islands—1521 : His Ship Victoria Completes Circuit of Globe—1522.—Fernando da Magellan, who had done valiant service as a soldier for Portugal in the conquest of the East Indies as well as of Morocco, became dissatisfied at his treatment and, renouncing his allegiance to his native land, enlisted under the banner of Charles V., who had just been crowned emperor. Believing the Moluccas to be an inviting field for discovery and exploration, he maintained that they were omitted from the treaty which established the old Line of Demarcation, and, by his enthusiasm, succeeded in persuading Charles to enter that portion of the world set aside by the pope for conquest by Portugal. Magellan was placed in charge of a large government expedition, whose avowed purpose was the opening of a western passage to the Moluccas. This voyage will ever hold the interested attention of students of history. To it is due: (1) The discovery of the Straits of Magellan; (2) the discovery and possession of the far-away Philippine Islands, which for nearly five centuries remained in undisputed possession of Spain, until Admiral Dewey, of the United States Navy (May 1, 1898), swept Spanish rule from the islands forever; (3) and the first circumnavigation of the globe, which completely silenced all who opposed the theory of the rotundity of the earth. Magellan lost his life on one of the Philippine Islands in an encounter with the natives, but his good ship Victoria, the only surviving vessel of his fleet, reached the Moluccas, and later rounding the Cape of Good Hope and passing through the Straits of Gibraltar came to anchor in the Spanish port from which she had sailed on her outward voyage.

17. De Ayllon and San Miguel—1526.—Vasquez de Ayllon, a Spanish lawyer and a member of the Superior Court of the

colony of Santo Domingo, became greatly absorbed in the problem of exploration and colonization, and through his influence at the Spanish court, secured permission to fit out exploring expeditions which he sent to Florida and the coasts farther north. Through having enticed many of their numbers on board the Spanish ships and having afterwards condemned them to slavery in the mines of Hayti, one of these expeditions secured for the Spanish the lasting enmity of the native tribes of the coast.

In 1526 De Ayllon attempted to plant the first Spanish colony within what is now the borders of the United States. He selected a site near the later English settlement of Jamestown and called it San Miguel. Beset by hostile tribes on every hand, the knights of Spain succumbed to the red men of the forest. The leader sickened and died of a fever, and this first attempt at colonization in the United States ended in disaster.

18. Narvaez Meets with Disaster — 1528.— Panfilo de Narvaez had won distinction in the conquest of Cuba and was in high favor with Velasquez, the governor of that island. The latter, having become jealous of Cortez in Mexico, dispatched Narvaez to supplant him. He was, however, surprised and captured by Cortez and banished from Mexico; upon which he returned to Spain, where in 1528, he was made governor of Florida. Having been granted permission to effect the conquest of Florida, he led into the interior of that country an expedition of four hundred men, whose avowed purpose was the discovery and plunder of the rich peoples of whom they heard. After months of marching and countermarching through what is now a portion of the southern states, the company was reduced by disease and conflict with the natives to four survivors. After enduring untold hardships and traveling thousands of miles, these four men, one of them the treasurer of the ill-fated expedition, Alva Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca by name, arrived at a Spanish settlement

in northern Mexico, in 1536. De Vaca afterwards published in Spain a narrative of the Narvaez expedition and his own subsequent adventures. This narrative has been translated into several languages and is even at this day considered of great historical value.

19. Coronado and the "Seven Fabled Cities of Cibola"; the Quivera—1540-1542.—The thrilling tales told by Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions of the fabulously wealthy tribes in the north, led to the expedition of Francisco Vasquez Coronado, who, in 1540, led out from Mexico an army of discovery in search of these fabled Indian empires of the north. Entering New Mexico, he found the cities of Cibola to be but mean Indian villages of the Zuni tribe, devoid of wealth or the least suggestion of opulence. He still sought the kingdom of Quivera, and, penetrating as far northward as the plains of Kansas, found the capital of these tribes of Quivera likewise but a poor Indian village. He retraced his steps with but a remnant of his followers, but the historian of the expedition has handed down a valuable and interesting narrative of the journey.

Within a half century after the discovery of Columbus, the Spaniard, as one representative of the Latin race, had thus penetrated the very heart of the North American continent, and looked upon the vast stretch of plain and prairie which was later to be subdued by his Anglo-Saxon brother.

In that half-forgotten era,
With the avarice of old,
Seeking cities he was told
Had been paved with yellow gold
In the kingdom of Quivera—

Came the restless Coronado
To the open Kansas plain,
With his knights from sunny Spain;
In an effort that, though vain,
Thrilled with boldness and bravado.

League by league, in aimless marching,
Knowing scarcely where or why,
Crossed they uplands drear and dry,
That an unprotected sky
Had for centuries been parching.

But their expectations, eager,
Found, instead of fruitful lands,
Shallow streams and shifting sands,
Where the buffalo in bands
Roamed o'er deserts dry and meager.

Back to scenes more trite, yet tragic,
Marched the knights with armor'd steeds;
Not for them the quiet deeds;
Not for them to sow the seeds
From which empires grow like magic.

Never land so hunger-stricken
Could a Latin race re-mold;
They could conquer heat or cold—
Die for glory or for gold—
But not make a desert quicken.

Thus Quivera was forsaken;
And the world forgot the place
Through the lapse of time and space.
Then the blue-eyed Saxon race
Came and bade the desert waken.

—Ware.

20. De Soto and the Mississippi River—1539-1542.—Hernando de Soto had been engaged in many active exploring and colonizing expeditions since 1514. He had ably assisted the Pizzaros in the conquest of Peru (1531-34), where he amassed great wealth. This gave him high standing at the Spanish court and, on his return to Spain, in 1536, he was, in the following year, appointed governor of Cuba and Florida, with orders to settle and explore the latter country. He organized an expedition at Havana in 1539, soon landed at Tampa Bay, on the coast of Florida, sent part of his ships back to Havana, and began the repetition of the De

Ayllon and Narvaez disasters. In the hope of finding richer countries, he continued; and for three years he was urged forward in search of gold. It is thought that he traversed what are now the States of Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Alabama, Tennessee, and Mississippi. He suffered great hardships and was forced to fight many fierce battles with the Indians. He discovered the Mississippi River in 1541, and explored the region west of the Mississippi nearly as far north as the Missouri. Turning southward in 1542, he reached the junction of the Red River and the Mississippi, where he sickened and died. His body was buried in the great river which he had discovered. The leader dead, the remnant of this gay company which had embarked with such high hopes at Havana three years before, built rafts, floated down the great river out into the Gulf, and finally reached the Spanish settlements in Mexico.

21. Cabrillo and California—1542-1543.—While De Soto was exploring the region of the southern states and Coronado was searching for the Quivera in the interior of the continent, Juan Rodriguez Cabrillo was exploring the Pacific coast, and its adjacent islands. On the California coast, he discovered and named many islands, capes, gulfs, and bays. He died while wintering in San Diego harbor in 1543. Before his vessels returned home, they sailed north as far as the coast of Oregon. Cabrillo left a manuscript narrative of his adventures and explorations, which is preserved in the historical archives of Spain.

22. Menendez Finds St. Augustine, 1565; Espejo, Santa Fe, 1582.—A half century had passed since the dawn of the New World and the Spaniard had not yet planted a single colony north of the region of Mexico. Every attempt had ended in dismal failure or disaster, until Pedro Menendez, successor to De Soto as governor of Cuba and Florida, founded the city of St. Augustine on the eastern coast of the peninsula. A decade and a half later (1582) Antonio

de Espejo founded Santa Fe in New Mexico. These are the two oldest cities in the United States.

THE PORTUGUESE

23. Americus Vespucius and the Naming of America—1497-1504.—Americus Vespucius, a scholarly and capable Italian navigator, claims to have made four voyages to the New World, two in the Spanish and two in the Portuguese service. He has left narratives of these voyages. In the voyage of 1497 he claims to have discovered the mainland a year before Columbus first gazed upon the continent at the mouth of the Orinoco River.

In the voyages of 1501 and 1503, while in the Portuguese service, he visited the Brazilian coast and in his narrative of the first of these Portuguese voyages maintained that the map of the world then known should be reconstructed and made to include a "fourth continent" which he called *Mundus Novus*,—Europe, Asia, and Africa constituting the other three continents. The theory of a new continent thus early became associated with the name of this learned geographer. Columbus combated the theory to the time of his death. Indeed, the fiction that the new lands were a part of the East Indies or the continent of Asia was not finally dispelled till Cortez measured his strength with the Aztec and revealed the truth about Mexico. It is not strange, therefore, that a German teacher of geography in the College of St. Dié should have used the following words in a little treatise on geography published in 1507: "And the fourth part of the world, having been discovered by Americus, it may be called Amerige; that is, the land of Americus or America." At first applied to Brazil, the suggestion was eventually adopted and was soon applied to the whole of the New World.

24. Cabral Discovers Brazil—1500.—However, a year before Vespucius had reached the coast of Brazil, Pedro Alvarez

Cabral had taken possession of it in the name of the king of Portugal. He had sailed from Lisbon in command of a large fleet with instructions to carry on the discoveries begun in India by Vasco da Gama. A tempest drove the fleet far out of its course and Cabral was astonished, on an April morning in 1500, at the sailor's cry of "Land! Land!" Learning that this land lay on Portugal's side of the Line of Demarcation, he planted a colony and dispatched a ship to his king to advise him of the discovery; then proceeded on his route past the Cape of Good Hope to India.

25. Cortereal Visits and Names Labrador—1500.—Gaspar Cortereal, under permission of his king, fitted out an expedition at his own expense and set sail on a voyage of discovery in search of a northwest passage to Asia. While he failed in his object, he seems to have skirted the coast of North America and touched upon the shores of Greenland. He imposed upon many places purely Portuguese names, Labrador among the number. The history of a people is sometimes revealed through a study of their geographical names. Labrador means the "land of laborers or slaves," and suggests to the student of history that the Portuguese became in their time the greatest and most heartless slave traders in the world.

THE FRENCH

26. The French Fishermen.—Seven years after the discovery of the continent, the fisheries of Newfoundland were known to the hardy sailors of Breton, on the western shores of France. Each succeeding year found their fishing boats, in increasing numbers, laying in supplies for the markets of France from the cod-banks off Newfoundland. Their marvelous stories of the new coasts in the west soon became current in France. To the circumstance of the voyages of these simple folk, engaged in private enterprise, is doubtless due the later location and rise upon the western

continent of that New France whose story has been so eloquently told by the historian Parkman.

27. Verrazano and New France—1524.—France had little respect for the Line of Demarcation and early entered into competition for a share of the western world. Her king, Francis II., at bitter enmity with Charles of Spain, sent an expedition under command of Giovanni Verrazano in search



THE FRENCH CLAIMS

of a northwest passage to China. Touching upon the shores of North America at a point near Cape Hatteras, he is said to have ranged the entire coast of the continent from the Carolinas in the south to Newfoundland in the north. He explored with more or less detail many of the bays and harbors of the Atlantic coast as far north as that island. He took possession in the name of his monarch of the region explored, and to

the whole gave the name, New France. He was perhaps the first European to sail into New York Bay and look upon the broad expanse of the Hudson River. Upon this voyage of discovery France was wont, in a later century, to base her claim to the territory which she proposed to carve out for herself in the New World.

28. Cartier Discovers the St. Lawrence—1535.—The wars in France prevented any further expeditions till a decade later. On the restoration of peace, the celebrated French navigator, Jacques Cartier, under direction of his king, made three voyages to the western continent. On the first

he explored the northern coast of the Gulf of St. Lawrence, and on the second (1535) he discovered the St. Lawrence River, ascending it as far as the Indian village of Hoc-he-laga, located on the present site of Montreal. Cartier's third voyage, made in 1541-42, in connection with Roberval, was for the purpose of planting a colony in New France. A landing was effected near the present site of the city of Quebec, but the enterprise ended in failure, and the leader returned to France. The French in this first attempt at colonization were to keep company—in almost the identical years—with the Spanish failures of De Soto in Florida and Coronado in the interior of the continent, and with the success of Cabrillo on the California coast.

29. The Huguenots Attempt to Found a Colony in Florida—1562-67.—After the still further lapse of a quarter of a century, the story of New France reopened with a tragedy. "The political and religious enmities which were soon to bathe Europe in blood broke out with an intense fury in the distant wilds of Florida." Admiral Coligny, the leader of the Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called, was anxious to establish in America a colony of refuge for his persecuted brethren. He sent the first expedition in 1562 under the leadership of Jean Ribaut, who touched upon the coast of Florida; discovered the St. Johns River, planted the ensign of France, and named the new country Carolina, after the boy king, Charles IX. Sailing northward in search of a suitable harbor, he finally planted his little colony of thirty souls in the vicinity of Port Royal, South Carolina. He soon set sail on his return voyage to the Old World and was unable to return for three years. The Port Royal colonists, thus abandoned, eked out a miserable existence, and, unable to endure their hardships longer, built a ship and put to sea in the hope of reaching home. After enduring untold suffering, they were picked up, nearly famished, in the English Channel by an English vessel.

A second expedition was sent out in 1564 under Rene de Laudonnière, who planted a colony on the St. Johns River. His Huguenot company constituted a motley crew. The hardships and misery which they endured, due in a large measure to lack of harmony among themselves, cannot be recounted. Their distress was relieved by John Hawkins, an English captain who had sailed into the mouth of the St. Johns River to re-fill his casks with water. On the urgent demand of his followers Laudonnière traded his cannon for one of Hawkins's vessels. He was being forced by his followers to abandon the colony, and needed this ship to take them home. No sooner had the English captain sailed than Jean Ribaut appeared upon the scene with provisions and supplies, thus relieving their distress and suffering. Their joy, however, was soon cut short by the blow which fell upon their little colony.

Spain, intensely Catholic and always hating the Huguenots, had been watching with a jealous eye their attempt to plant a colony in the New World. Learning that they had landed in Florida, she proceeded to dispute their right, claiming Florida by the pope's decree and by right of the de Leon discovery. Accordingly Menendez hastened to Florida, and as soon as he had planted the colony of St. Augustine, proceeded to lay plans to dispossess the Huguenots. Within two years this cruel Spaniard butchered, massacred, or hanged nine hundred of the French colonists. It is not strange, therefore, that in 1567 Dominic de Gourges came over to America with the avowed purpose of avenging the butchery of his fellow Huguenots. His vengeance swept the Spanish settlements like a whirlwind until only the settlement of St. Augustine remained. Finding he could not hold his own against the larger Spanish force, he returned to France. When Menendez the year before had executed the last of the French, he marked the place with a cross bearing the inscription, "Not as to Frenchmen, but as to Lutherans." When De Gourges sailed for France

the inscription read, "Not as to Spaniards, but as to traitors, robbers, and murderers."

30. Champlain, the Father of New France.—To quote Parkman the historian: "Samuel de Champlain, has been fitly called the Father of New France. In him were embodied her religious zeal and romantic spirit of adventure. Before the close of his career, purged of her heresy, she took the posture which she held to the day of her death—in one hand the crucifix and in the other, the sword. His life, full of significance, is the true beginning of her eventful history." He was "devout, high-minded, brave, tender." He had made explorations in Canada and in New England, having spent much time exploring the coast. He is said to have been an excellent draughtsman, and has left some of the best maps extant of that upper coast. He founded Quebec (1608)—the first permanent French settlement in America. He discovered Lake Champlain in 1609. He was instrumental in laying successfully the foundations of the French Colonial Empire. He was appointed governor of New France, and remained in that position until 1635. He made one error, however, which had serious consequences and possibly cost the French their dominion in the New World. This was in joining a war party of Hurons against the Iroquois, thus incurring the lasting enmity of that powerful confederacy. From this error of judgment fatal results followed in later years. The time came when the French needed the aid of the Iroquois against the English, but they petitioned in vain.

31. De Monts and His Agricultural Colony in Canada.—However, before Champlain established Quebec, he had assisted in a prior attempt to plant a colony in America, under the leadership of the Sieur de Monts. After the tragic end of the Huguenots in the south in 1565, no further attempts at colonizing were made by the French until 1604. A movement had been set on foot to establish an agricultural colony, and in that year, under the leadership of De Monts, a settlement was made on an island in the Bay of Fundy.

This proving an undesirable site, they moved across the bay the next year and founded Port Royal, Nova Scotia. The colony never flourished under French rule and in 1607 was abandoned.

32. The Pioneers of France in the New World —Soldiers, Fur Traders, and the Jesuit Fathers.—From the time Champlain planted the first permanent French settlement in America just three-quarters of a century elapsed before La Salle, the discoverer of the great west, planted the lily-standard of France at the mouth of the Mississippi River, and, taking possession of the vast interior of the continent in the name of France, named it Louisiana in honor of his king. A vast pioneer army of missionaries, traders, and soldiers had made possible this crowning act of La Salle. The military power of France was always in evidence, and the French soldier in the conquest of the New World was an imperative necessity. But with the soldier there went the trapper, the hunter, and the fur trader, who pushed their canoes up every navigable stream in quest of their prey or to traffic with the Indians. In fur and fishing the adventurers of France had found "veritable gold mines." The demand in Europe for these commodities became enormous.

Hand in hand with the soldier and the trader went the Jesuit missionary, zealous to convert the savage and build up a Christian empire in the wilderness of the west. With a devotion that has seldom been surpassed, with a self-denial and self-abasement that still astonishes the world, the Jesuits went everywhere, spreading the doctrine of their faith. They were the advisers, both spiritual and temporal, of every French trading post in America. Among them all, two names stand out prominently as the leaders in the far west. The early history of many of the north central states of our republic cannot be written without mention of the names of Marquette and Joliet. It was they who in 1673 rounded the Great Lakes, crossed to the headwaters of the Mississippi River, and in time drifted down the stream

to within seven hundred miles of its mouth, thus demonstrating that the great river emptied its waters into the Gulf of Mexico and not into the "Vermillion Sea," as the Pacific was then called.

33. La Salle and the Extension of New France.—Ten years later, La Salle pushed down the great river, and took possession in the name of France of that vast territory, one-half of which was later to be surrendered to the English; the other half, to be sold to the republic of the United States in 1803, for fifteen millions of dollars. "La Salle stands in history like a statue cast in iron." At first a Jesuit, he renounced his connection with that society, and, in behalf of France, began his interminable voyages of exploration. He traversed a stretch of country from the Great Lakes on the north to the Ohio River on the south; and from the portage of Chicago to the mouth of the Mississippi. He is said to have traveled twenty thousand miles in the interior of the continent, most of the distance on foot or in an Indian bark canoe. He built the first ship that ever sailed the waters of the lakes above Niagara. He is truly entitled to the distinction, The Discoverer of the Great West. To him, more than any other man, was the mother country indebted for the expansion of New France.

It is sad to relate that after this crowning act of his life, he repaired to France only to be enlisted in an enterprise which led to his death by assassination. Spain patrolled the Gulf of Mexico, by her warships forbidding any nation to enter the ports of the West Indies or of Mexico unless by her permission. La Salle, however, on his way over from France succeeding in deceiving the Spanish at Santo Domingo, planted a French colony on the coast of Texas. This colony did not flourish on account of Indian foes without and wicked plottings within. La Salle had concluded to abandon the colony and lead his followers back to France through the Canadian settlement of Quebec. He, however, was assassinated on the eve of his departure. "Thus died," says

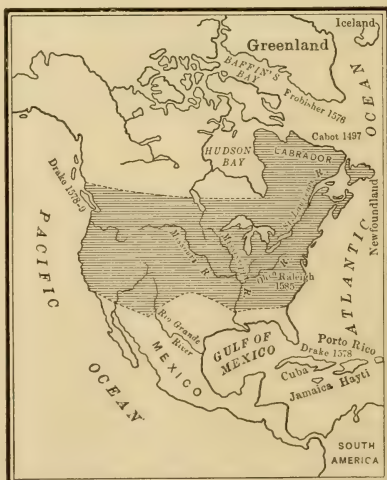
Parkman, "in ignominy and darkness the last embers of the doomed colony of La Salle."

THE DUTCH

34. Holland was also a seafaring nation, and yet she, like Portugal, failed to profit much by discoveries in the New World. On the single voyage of Henry Hudson in 1609 she based her claim. He entered the beautiful river, to which he gave his name, and the Dutch were thus enabled right-fully to claim one of the richest sections of the New World. They made their claim good in 1613, by permanent settlement on the present site of New York City.

THE ENGLISH

35. England.—We now come to the nation which was later to have such a vast influence upon the North American continent. When Henry VII. of England turned a deaf ear to the appeal of Columbus, he lost an opportunity which in all probability he did not cease regretting to the day of his death. At that time, the English navigators and sailors were worthy competitors with those of Spain and Portugal, and, after the discovery of Columbus, they were imbued with a desire to penetrate the sea of darkness and share in the discoveries of the



THE ENGLISH CLAIMS

mysterious land beyond the Atlantic. While Portugal strove for a southeast passage and Spain for a western, English



MAGELLAN
VESPUCIUS

BALBOA
SEBASTIAN CABOT

DISCOVERERS AND EXPLORERS

and French sailors set their faces toward the northwest. They believed, and rightly, that if there were an open passage, the route by the northwest would be shorter than the routes chosen by either Spain or Portugal. For the first voyage to the New World under the flag of England we are indebted to this belief.

36. The Cabots Establish the Claim of England—1497, 1498.—John Cabot and Sebastian his son were Genoese sailors in the employ of England. Under the direction of the king of their adopted country, they made a voyage to the New World, touching at some point on the Labrador coast. They sailed southward for a distance of some three hundred miles and landing at a point not now known, planted a cross and the flag of England, and, after three months, returned to the harbor of Bristol from which they had sailed. Thus to John Cabot and to England is due the first discovery of the North American continent. He had touched Labrador fourteen months before Columbus saw the mainland at the mouth of the Orinoco River. By this early and remarkable voyage of the Cabots England was able to establish her claim to nearly the whole of North America. However, on the death of Henry VII., his successors, out of respect for the papal decree, did nothing to further the claims made good by these early voyagers. Busy with affairs at home, the English allowed three-quarters of a century to elapse before they again appeared in the western world.

37. England under Queen Elizabeth.—Queen Elizabeth was keenly alive to the interests of her people, and under her, England rapidly rose in power. In commerce she dared to compete with all the other countries of the world. She became the antagonist of Spain and the great champion of Protestantism in Europe. She “strengthened her navy, filled her arsenals, and encouraged the building of ships in England.” The spirit of English nationality was developed in her reign. She encouraged adventure and discovery in Africa and Russia,

and commerce with the distant peoples of Asia. She encouraged science, letters, art, invention, and discovery. In her day Shakespeare and Spenser sang, and Sidney and Bacon wrote. Finally the overthrow of the Spanish Armada laid the foundation of England's supremacy at sea.

38. Frobisher Enters Baffin's Bay in Search of a Northwest Passage.—Before the destruction of the Spanish Armada, Queen Elizabeth had been encouraging exploration and discovery in the New World. Her fishermen off the Newfoundland coast became the "lords of the banks." In 1576 she sent Martin Frobisher to find a northwest passage to the Indies. This bold seaman, with two small barks, penetrated as far north as Baffin's Bay. He loaded his ship with a substance the natives assured him was gold, and, returning to England, "dropped down the Thames, where Queen Elizabeth waved her hand in token of favor." His load of yellow earth proved to be mica, but belief in his "Arctic Eldorado" lured English seamen into the cold regions of the north seas for many years.

39. Drake, the Bold Rover, Circumnavigates the Globe—1577-1580.—These were the days when the battle was to the strong. Thus no ship was safe on the high seas unless manned by a valiant captain and crew. England had many of these and no captain more bold than Sir Francis Drake. He had already made several successful piratical voyages to the West Indies, returning to England with rich booty. In 1577 he resolved to try his fortunes on the west coast of America, where the Spaniard was reaping a rich harvest from the coffers of the Incas. He followed in the track of Magellan, and turned Cape Horn. Entering different harbors along the South American coast, he despoiled Spaniard and native alike, until his most sanguine dreams had been realized. But now came the question of a return home. Should it be by the route he came, the Spaniard might waylay him. He therefore sailed leisurely up the coast as far north as Oregon, which he named New Albion,

and passed the winter of 1579 in one of her safe harbors. The following year he struck boldly across the Pacific Ocean and returned home by the Cape of Good Hope. He was the first Englishman to circumnavigate the globe.

40. Sir Humphrey Gilbert Makes an Attempt to Found an English Colony.—The queen now determined to plant an English colony in her new possessions. In 1583 Sir Humphrey Gilbert, "one of those persons whose life and conduct serve to brighten the pages of history," was fitted out with five ships. He made three attempts to found a colony in Newfoundland, but failed on account of the severity of the climate and dissensions among his followers. On his return from his last voyage the vessel in which he sailed went down at sea. His last recorded words were, "We are as near to Heaven by sea as by land." Sir Humphrey was a step-brother of Sir Walter Raleigh and had been assisted and encouraged in his colonial enterprise by his relative.

41. Sir Walter Raleigh and Virginia.—Remembering the experiences of his step-brother in the rigors of the Newfoundland climate, Raleigh resolved to establish a colony on the southern coast from which the French had been banished. Being a great favorite of the queen, he readily obtained a large grant. An exploring party was sent out, which returned with glowing accounts of the country. It was reported to be "a land of perpetual flowers and eternal springs." Raleigh caught the fancy and named the country which he sought to colonize Virginia, in honor of the Virgin Queen. In 1585 a colony of one hundred was located on Roanoke Island. On account of the colonists' mistreatment of the Indians, the latter became very hostile. The situation grew critical. Starvation confronted them, and they were threatened with extermination by the savages, when they were happily rescued by Sir Francis Drake, who had stopped to see how his friend Raleigh's colony was prospering. He found them in such distress that he yielded to their request to be taken home.

These returning colonists are said to have been the first to introduce the use of tobacco into England.

A final attempt was made in 1587 under the leadership of Governor John White. This time both men and women were sent. The outcome was tragic. After seeing them located at Roanoke, Governor White returned for supplies. In England he found all was excitement over the report of the coming of the Spanish Armada. Every ship and every seaman was in demand. When, after an absence of three years, White returned, he could find no trace of the colony. It became known as "The Lost Colony."

Disappointed and broken in fortune, Raleigh now relinquished his rights to others. Bancroft says: "The name of Raleigh stands greatest among the statesmen of England who advanced the colonization of the United States." He was courtier, soldier, colonizer, historian, poet. When Queen Elizabeth died he fared ill with her successor, who imprisoned him in the Tower of London in 1603 and released him in 1616, only to condemn him and execute him at the block two years later.

42. Gosnold—1602; Pring—1603; Weymouth—1605.—At the beginning of the century three voyages were made to the New World which excited great interest in England. In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold coasted Massachusetts, named Cape Cod, and sailed into Buzzards Bay. He named an island after his queen, and attempted to plant a colony there. He failed because none of his crew would consent to remain. Martin Pring visited the same coast the following year, returning laden with fish. Both Pring and Gosnold made favorable reports on the desirability of the New England coast as a place for settlement. George Weymouth followed up their explorations in 1605, entering and exploring many of the harbors along the coast of Maine and reaching as far south as the region visited by Gosnold three years before.

These three voyages aroused the business centers of Eng-

land. They served to stir the English mind as never before in its relation to the colonization of the New World. The voyages made to other parts of the Atlantic coast, particularly to the south, had demonstrated that fine harbors were not numerous. Gosnold, Pring, and Weymouth had explored in detail a sufficient number of harbors on the New England coast to shelter the navies and the merchant ships of the world.

43. The Virginia Company—Plymouth: London—(1606).—

As the sixteenth century closed and the seventeenth century opened, all the business centers of Europe became actively interested in the promotion of commercial enterprise. Trading companies, exploring companies, and companies interested in a great variety of enterprises, existed in Holland, France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and England. England, where a broader idea of the rights of the individual had gained a foothold, was especially interested in the organization of such companies. The year following the return of Weymouth, the now famous Virginia Company was organized



(1606) under a charter from the king. The original company soon subdivided into two companies—the London and the Plymouth. The members of the London Company lived in or near London; those of Plymouth, in or near Plymouth. The companies were organized for the purpose of colonization and trade.

The London Company, by the charter, was limited to the territory lying between the thirty-fourth and thirty-eighth degrees of north latitude; the Plymouth, to the

territory lying between the forty-first and forty-fifth degrees. Both extended westward without limit. The strip lying between the two grants was left open as a field of competition between the two companies, neither to make a settlement within a hundred miles of the other. The Plymouth Company made its first attempt at colonization on the coast of Maine in 1607. The colonists had settled too far north and the climate proved too severe for them. The following year, discouraged and heart-sick, they returned home.

While the Plymouth Company failed, the London Company succeeded. To it belongs the distinction of having planted the first permanent English colony on the shores of America. The Jamestown Colony, established in 1607, marks the beginning of that English colonization of the continent, which, during the next century and a half, was destined to spread and establish the supremacy of England in North America. The history of these English colonies, thirteen in all, stretching along a narrow strip of the Atlantic coast, constitutes the beginning of the history of the republic of the United States, and must be reserved for a future chapter.

SUMMARY

44. Progress Made.—We have thus far followed the story of the western continent as revealed in the lives of the early explorers.

From Columbus to Menendez and Espejo (1492-1582) is a long and bloody period of time. But during that period the Spaniard planted himself firmly in the West Indies, conquered Mexico, and the western coast of South America; and by an armed patrol maintained his right to Florida—the northern limit of which he placed at the North Pole.

We have seen the Portuguese (1500-1502) limited to Brazil, and note with shame their development into the leading slave traders of the world.

From Verrazano and Cartier to La Salle (1524-1687) we are carried over more than a century and a half of history. But we behold the Frenchman in the van of the army of pioneers who conquered the vast interior wilderness of the continent. He has extended New France from a small settlement at Quebec, westward to the upper limits of the Great Lakes; thence southward to the Gulf of Mexico, through one of the richest and most productive valleys in the world.

We have seen the Dutch under Henry Hudson (1609) sailing into the Hudson River, establishing the right of Holland to the New Netherlands in America and plying their trade along that river and the coasts of Long Island Sound.

From the Cabots to the Jamestown colony (1497-1607) we note a long line of disasters for England. But we are thrilled by the promise that it is reserved to her to sow on this new soil the seeds of individual liberty, which, taking deep root, shall blossom forth into the thirteen original colonies and later reach fruition in the greatest attempt at self-government the human mind has ever conceived—the United States of America.

45. Conflicting Claims.—We thus see, as we narrow ourselves to the territory occupied by the present boundaries of the United States, that there were conflicting claims to this territory. These conflicts, leading to endless trouble in later years, were settled only by appeal to the sword. Let us note carefully the claims of the contending nations:

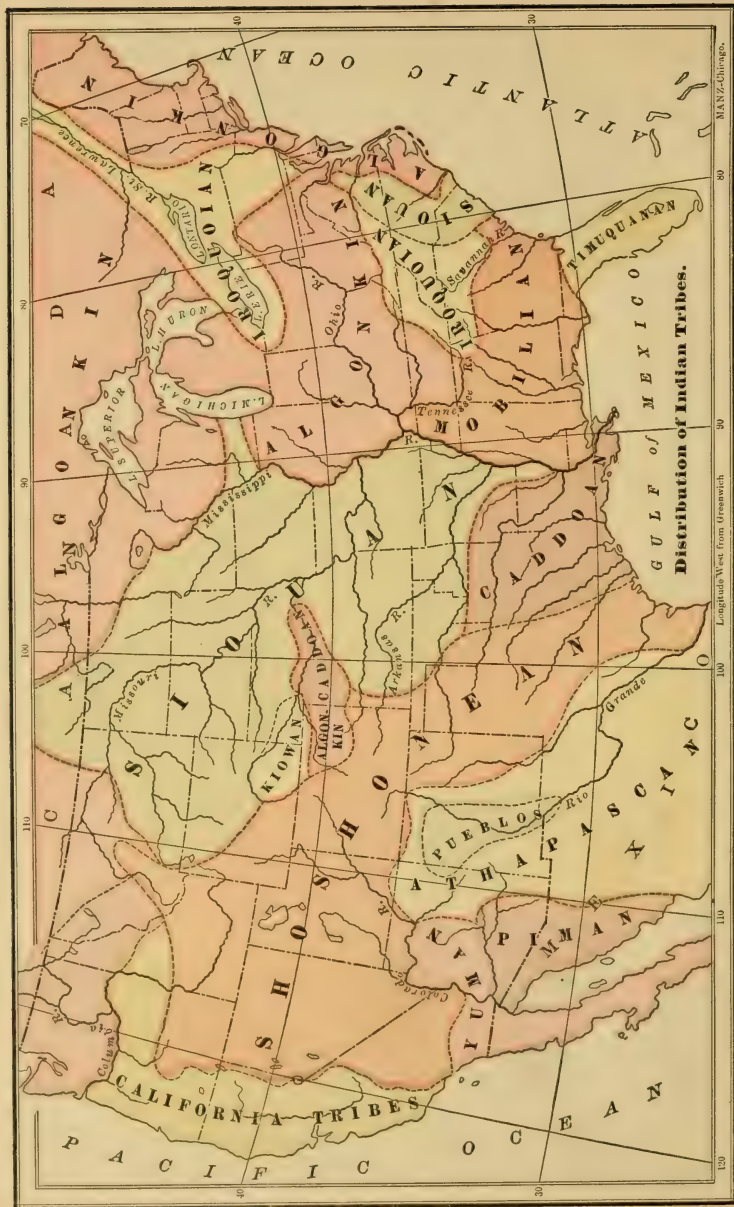
Spain laid claim to the eastern coast of the United States under the name of Florida, and the Pacific coast under the name of New Mexico.

The French laid claim to Canada and the Mississippi valley.

The Dutch claimed the territory lying between Narragansett Bay and the Delaware River.

The English, by right of discovery and occupation, proceeded to hold the coast from Nova Scotia to Florida, thence westward to the Pacific.

Before taking up the story of the English colonies in the New World it is well that we should take a glance at the Continent of North America and learn something of its native inhabitant, who confronted the early settler at every step, and, with dogged resistance, disputed the right of the European to encroach upon his territory.



CHAPTER III

THE CONTINENT AND THE INDIAN

1492-1902

46. North America.—The word “continent” is here used to designate a body of land, whether large or small, having on one side a primary axis—a high mountain range,—and on the other a secondary axis—a low mountain range,—with a broad plain or valley between them. Thus North America taken by itself is a continent. Its primary axis is the Rocky Mountain range, taken together with its related ranges and the plateau upon which this upheaval rests, which extends from Alaska to the Isthmus of Panama. Its secondary axis is the Appalachian range and the tableland upon which it rests, which extends from the plateau of Labrador to the hills of northern Georgia. The great central plain of North America lies between these two highlands and extends from the Arctic Sea to the Gulf of Mexico.

47. The United States.—That portion of the continent lying within the boundaries of the republic partakes of the physical characteristics of the whole continent. On the east are the Atlantic slope and coastal plain; on the west, the Pacific slope; and in the interior, the great central plain.

THE ATLANTIC PLAIN

Looking outward upon the ocean with its fine harbors and bays, the Atlantic plain lay stretched out as a perpetual invitation to Europe to plant colonies upon its coasts and along the courses of its numerous streams. This narrow strip of territory, scarcely more than one hundred and fifty miles



STRUCTURAL MAP OF NORTH AMERICA

wide at its greatest stretch, was destined, on account of its geographical position, to become the home of the thirteen English colonies and the "cradle of the republic." Bound to the coast by their desire for intercommunication and commerce, and held back from the interior by the continuous Appalachian range and the savage tribes which it harbored, the English settlements became compact and numerous. And thus was developed, from New England to Georgia, that bond of sympathy and community of interest which gave birth to that confidence which in later years led the English colonists up the historic valleys of the Hudson and the Mohawk, the Delaware and the Susquehanna, the Potomac and the James,—into the lake region of the north and the great interior valley of the continent—to wrest from France her vast colonial possessions. And thus, too, in that narrow strip was developed that love of liberty, and that confidence in "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" which led the colonists to bid defiance to the despotism of King George III. and to publish to the world their Declaration of Independence.

THE PACIFIC SLOPE

The Pacific slope extends westward from the crest of the Rocky Mountain range through the elevated plateau known as the Great Basin; then, rising into the lofty peaks of the Sierra Nevada and Cascade ranges, it descends abruptly to the Pacific coast. It is pierced by the Columbia and the Colorado rivers,—each of historic interest in the development of that section of our country. Unlike the Atlantic, the Pacific coastal plain has but few streams and its coasts present but few harbors.

THE CENTRAL PLAIN

The great central plain with its vast network of streams reaches from the crest of the Appalachian Mountains to the crest of the Rockies, and sweeps downward to the Gulf of

Mexico from the low watershed at the head of the Great Lake system. This whole interior basin is drained eastward to the Atlantic through the Great Lakes and the St. Lawrence River; and southward to the Gulf of Mexico by the greatest river system in the world—the Mississippi. To this vast interior region France fell heir through the discovery by Cartier, of the mouth of the St. Lawrence; and by La Salle, of the mouth of the Mississippi. A study of the natural boundaries of this region will show how extensive was the territory which France set about to occupy. In her attempt to hold and develop it she failed. In proportion to the amount of means and energy which she was able to put into the business of colonization, the territory was, in geographical extent, far beyond her capabilities. Had France been limited by natural geographical boundaries to a smaller area, as the English were, she might have fared better. Geography aids us in the conclusion that, at best, France was but a pioneer in the great wilderness, preparing the way for the oncoming of the young republic which had its birth amidst the closely compacted settlements east of the Alleghanies.

Thus we see one must understand the geography of a country if he would understand its history. Climate and topography have greatly influenced the history of the human family. Natural geographical boundaries have usually determined the limits of nations. "Geography determines history."

48. The Indian and His Treatment by His Conquerors.—When Columbus first landed he was greeted by human beings. Believing he was in the East Indies, he called the natives Indians—a name which they have carried with them over the stretch of more than four centuries of stirring history.

In that history the "Red Man" plays a conspicuous and melancholy part. He greeted the Spaniard with stubborn resistance in Cuba, Santo Domingo, and Porto Rico. He

waged unequal battle with him when Montezuma and his Aztecs fell. He met him in southern Mexico and Central America, in Bolivia and Chili, and gave up his life rather than submit to Spanish rule. In less than a half century the Spaniard had swept from San Salvador to Tierra del Fuego and the mouth of the La Platte River, and wherever he went the "blood of the slain" cried out against his cruel tyranny. Turning to the north, the Spaniard met the Indian in California, in Kansas, in Florida, along the course of the Mississippi, on the shores of the Carolinas, and in Virginia, and everywhere meted out to him the same cruel and heartless treatment.

The French and the Dutch traded with him on the Hudson River and Long Island Sound. The Huguenots made friends with him in Florida and the Carolinas. Cartier

found him on the shores of the St. Lawrence; Champlain, on Lake Champlain, and in the interior of New York. Along the shores of the Great Lakes the French trader and the Jesuit missionary became his companion and spiritual adviser. They met him everywhere along the streams of the interior and the courses of the Great River; and, floating past the spot where De Soto had first looked upon the Mississippi, they were guided to its mouth by an Indian pilot. The treatment of the Indian by the French and the Dutch was more humane than that of the Spanish.

The English, too, came in contact with this child of the for-



est. The Cabots were the first to meet him on the coasts of the northern continent. Frobisher encountered him in the icy regions of the Arctic coast and mistook his yellow clay for gold. Raleigh's colonists met him in Virginia; Gosnold and Pring and Weymouth were cordially greeted by the natives along the New England coast. Like the French and the Dutch, the English anxiously cultivated the friendship of the Indian. The conquest of New England, though marked by some fierce struggles with tribes which refused to be at peace, was on the whole a peaceful conquest. And this statement applies with almost equal force to all the English colonies.

49. The Whole Continent Peopled by the Natives.—When in the nineteenth century the region west of the Mississippi was explored, the Indian was found in every section of North America, even as far north as the Arctic coast. The truth was then fully established that the whole of North and South America had been peopled by native tribes, perhaps centuries before Columbus saw the New World. The population in North America north of the Rio Grande River probably did not, in the time of Columbus, exceed one million souls—of whom three hundred thousand were within the present limits of the United States. In the West Indies, Mexico, Central America, and the South American countries there was a denser population. Many of the southern tribes were semi-civilized, while those of the United States and farther north were barbarous.

50. Distribution in the United States in 1492.—Based on a study of their languages, the Indians of the United States have been divided into fifty-seven family groups, ranging from a single village to over six hundred tribes in a group. Those east of the Mississippi were divided into three great tribal families.

(1) The Algonkin tribes occupied the Atlantic coastal plain from the Savannah River northward; and the Mississippi valley, from the Great Lakes to the Tennessee River.

They also spread over Newfoundland and Labrador and reached westward in Canada to the Rocky Mountains. They spoke a related language and lived by hunting and fishing, paying but slight attention to agriculture. One strong tribe, the Delaware—said to be the parent stock of the Algonkins—occupied the region from the Chesapeake Bay to the headwaters of the Ohio River. There were about six hundred of the Algonkin tribes, most of them rude and warlike. It was with the Algonkin the English and French settlers first contended. The latter won their friendship; the former, with but one notable exception—in Pennsylvania—their enmity.

(2) In the north the Iroquoian family occupied the region of central New York, both banks of the St. Lawrence, and the shores of Lake Ontario and Lake Erie. In the south they held a portion of the Carolinas under the tribal name of the Tuscaroras. Those in New York state bound themselves for purpose of defence and conquest into the famous Iroquois Confederacy known in history as the Five Nations—the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas constituting the Confederacy. After 1715 they were joined by the Tuscaroras, and became the Six Nations of our colonial history. They were not numerous, but on account of their skill in the use of their rude weapons of war they made the name of the Iroquois feared and respected from the Lakes to the Gulf. When taught the use of fire-arms by the European settler they practically dominated the whole of the Indian population in the central and eastern portion of the republic. Through a blunder of Champlain, the French secured their lasting enmity. They were generally friendly to the English, and in the Revolutionary War all the tribes except the Oneidas fought against the American colonists.

(3) The Mobilian, or Muskhogean family occupied the region south of the Tennessee and Savannah rivers to the Gulf. They became tillers of the soil and were less warlike

than the northern tribes. They, however, in later years gave the government of the United States much trouble until finally induced to move into the "Indian Country" west of the Mississippi.

In the western country roamed the great hunting tribes of the Sioux. Fierce and warlike, they had even dared to wage war with the Algonkin and the Iroquois for the occupancy of the Carolinas, and had successfully planted their villages on the Atlantic coast. Still further west was the Shoshonean family occupying the Rocky Mountain region and the Great Basin to its west, with the half-civilized Pueblos and cliff dwellers on their south.

On the Pacific were the numerous Californian families, comprising the most closely compacted Indian settlements in North America.

The tribes of each family group spoke the same stock language, though with such variations that the Algonkin on the Tennessee could not understand the Algonkin in Newfoundland; nor the Sioux in the Carolinas communicate with the Sioux of the Black Hills. At the time of the arrival of the European, too, the boundaries to the territory occupied by each family group were fairly well defined and in the main respected.

51. The Tribe of the Alleghans: The Mound Builders.—This tribe has given its name to the Alleghany River and the Alleghany Mountains. The Alleghan tribe is the oldest tribe in the United States of which there is any tradition—it is believed they belonged to the early Iroquoian stock. The Alleghans were perhaps the first occupants of the Ohio valley, the builders of many of the curious Indian mounds found in that region. The other tribes inhabiting this region were also mound builders. Judging from the remains which they have left, they were an agricultural people and lived in fixed towns. The mound builders of the Ohio and Mississippi valleys were conquered and driven from their domain by a combination of the Delaware and Iroquois tribes.

Defeated, they retired south of the Ohio and finally made their permanent settlement in the region of the Gulf states. The Cherokee Indians are descended from them. The Cherokees are now one of the "five civilized tribes" in the Indian Territory. The old theory of a prehistoric race of mound builders in North America, whose peoples had attained to an advanced stage of civilization, and who were conquered and exterminated by cruel savage tribes, is rapidly becoming a myth.

52. The Red Man.—As the Indians appear to us now they doubtless appeared to the early colonists—a race of men,



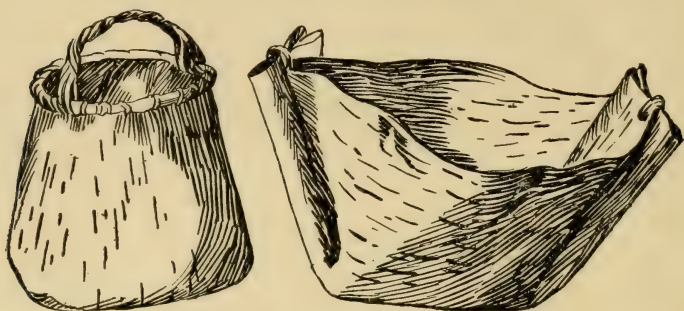
EARTHEN JARS OR BOWLS

erect and powerful; with reddish or copper-colored skin; coarse, black hair; deep-set black eyes; and full, smooth faces—made prominent by high cheek bones, broad, flat foreheads, heavy jaws, and full lips; in stature, the men of average height; the women shorter, and inclined to stoutness—both having small hands and feet.

They were hunters and fishers and rude tillers of the soil. They lived upon the fruits of the chase, and were fond of fish and oysters. They raised Indian corn, potatoes, beans, and pumpkins, and gave the European his first knowledge

of the potato, corn, and tobacco plant. The Indian was an inveterate smoker, and his "peace pipe" has become a fixed figure in our literature.

He prepared his food in rude earthen jars or bowls, in



BIRCH-BARK VESSELS

huge kettles and in birch-bark vessels, boiling the water by dropping in heated stones.

He was swift in the chase and unsurpassed in his use of the canoe. He had a quick ear and a keen eye, and could track his prey or his foe through the forest and across the prairie with unerring accuracy. He could imitate the songs of birds and the cry of animals—deceiving man, and beast as well.

In war, though the bravest of the brave, the Indian never fought in the open, unless forced by his foe. He approached



FLINT-TIPPED ARROWS

by stealth,—in the darkness of the night or under cover of the ambush,—and with his war-whoop and uplifted tomahawk perpetrated indiscriminate slaughter. His implements of war were rude, but with his flint-tipped arrow and his rude stone tomahawk he fought bravely against the invading white man.

The dwellings of the Indians ranged from the rude hut

and the typical circular cone-shaped wigwam of the prairie and forest tribes, to the longhouse of the Iroquois and the canopy tent—shaped like a mover's wagon—of the more settled Algonkin tribes. In the far southwest, where there was little rainfall, they built their adobe houses of sun-dried brick, or, like the "cliff dwellers," carved their homes from out the precipitous cliffs.

They were clothed scantily in the summer time, and wore dressed skins of animals in the winter. On gala days

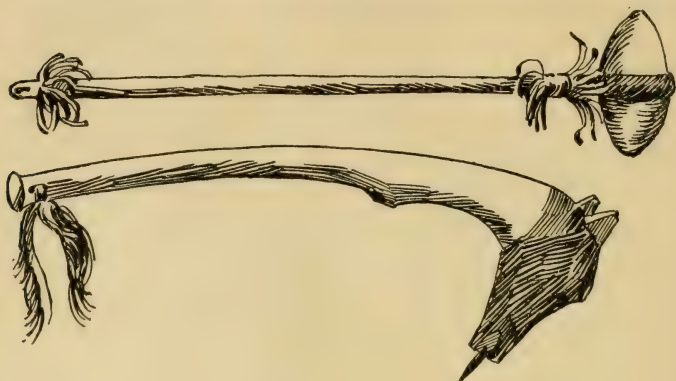


they were bedecked with gay feathers, bedaubed with paint, and arrayed in the gaudiest colors.

They were wild lovers of liberty and had an intolerance of control. In the village and the field the Indian squaw did the household and field labor while her lord reserved himself for the chase and for war.

The Indian had his virtues and his vices. He was a hero-worshiper and revered the sages and heroes of his tribe.

He was brave—none braver—ambitious and generous and eloquent in defence of his rights. Yet he was cautious to the point of cowardice, and held revenge to be an honor and a duty. He was suspicious and jealous. He was a worshiper of nature. A wild animal, a bird, the sun, the voice of a Niagara, and all manner of living things and inanimate



INDIAN WAR CLUBS

objects became his gods. He worshiped both a "Great Spirit" and an "Evil Spirit"—the latter because it was wicked and he feared it might do him harm.

He yielded authority only to the tribal will, and his tenacious—almost devout—belief in the tribal organization as a form of political government has retarded his progress more than all other causes.

He was indeed but a "child" of the forest. He has been one of the vexed problems of the republic. Even after centuries of effort, civilization has laid but little hold upon him. He "quickly learned to use the white man's musket"; but he has been slow "to use the tools of the white man's industry." He often developed an uncontrollable appetite for intoxicating drinks,—the habit many times proving his undoing.

53. Where Is the Indian Now ?—The Indian has not been

exterminated. The erroneous belief that at the time of discovery the United States held a population of sixteen million Indians has been dispelled in recent years. It is now thought that this population at the time of discovery did not exceed three hundred thousand souls. The census of 1900 shows an equal number of Indians still living within the borders of the republic.

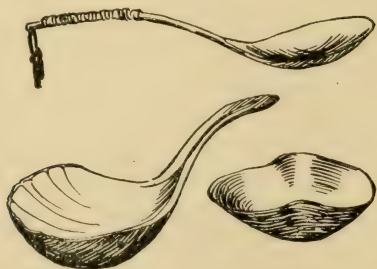
During the period from Washington to Roosevelt the government has expended—for purchase of Indian lands, for Indian education and support, a total of nearly four hundred millions of dollars. For the year 1901 an appropriation of nearly nine millions was made by Congress.

In 1823, all the Indians east of the Mississippi, excepting those of New York and some small tribes of the Atlantic states, were by treaty removed to the Indian country west of the Mississippi—and to reservations to be located thereafter by the government. This Indian country has narrowed down in the present day to the Indian Territory, occupied by the “five civilized tribes”—comprising the Seminole Indians, and the Creek, Cherokee, Chicasaw, and Choctaw nations—and to a few reservations in the territory of Oklahoma.

East of the Mississippi there are but two notable reservations—in the states of New York and Wisconsin; while each state and territory west of the Mississippi, excepting Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas, has one or more Indian reservations within its borders. These reservations are under the control of the Interior Department at Washington. Schools have been established on all, and in 1900 more than twenty thousand Indian children were in daily attendance upon these schools. In order to bring the Indian more closely under the influences of civilization, the government has established more than a hundred boarding schools in the very midst of white communities. The largest of these are Carlisle (Pennsylvania), Haskell Institute (Lawrence, Kansas), and Phoenix (Arizona). In these

boarding schools are enrolled four or five thousand of the best young men and women from the Indian tribes of the country.

54. Present Government Policy: Allotment Act: The Indian's Future.—The government has tried many experiments and plans in dealing with the Indian—some good, some bad. No Congress of the United States has ever convened without passing some “Indian legislation” and making an appropriation. There are those who insist that, after a century of dealing with the problem, “the United States has failed with the Indian.” However, this failure is only an apparent one. The government is now rapidly abandoning its reservation system and substituting therefor the present Indian policy of the republic—“To fit the Indian for civilization and to absorb him into it.” The education of the Indian youth on one hand, and the allotment of homesteads to their elders on the other, are silently working their way. The Allotment Act passed by Congress in 1887 has sealed the doom of the reservation policy. It is breaking up the tribe as a social and political unit and placing in its stead the family—with its father, mother, and children constituting an Indian home—upon which a civilization can be built. In a few years, under this policy, the tribal authority will become extinct and thousands of industrious Indian households will be absorbed into the citizenship of the republic.



CHAPTER IV

THE COMING OF THE ENGLISH HOME BUILDERS

1607-1733

55. England.—England had responded readily to the new movement brought about by the revival of learning and her people had rapidly taken rank among the most intelligent in Europe. The great religious Reformation had quickened the intellectual life of the island kingdom, and made her people God-fearing and liberty-loving. Her rulers, however, held tenaciously to the belief in the “divine right of kings,” and through their tyranny and misgovernment there was gradually developed in the English heart a belief in the “divine right of the people.” At first a mere belief—a feeble contention against the injustices of her monarchs—it later became a fixed conviction of the English nation—rising both at home and in the American colonies to the dignity of an emphatic protest against the usurpations of kings.

56. The Reign of the Stuarts—1603-1714.—When Elizabeth died in 1603 there came into power the sovereigns of the House of Stuart—who held sway during one of the most exciting centuries in the history of England—a century of bitter strife between people and monarchs, in which the former triumphed only after much shedding of blood. During its progress one king yielded up his life on the block; another was driven from his throne. In their wrath at the despotism of the first Charles, parliament overthrew the monarchy and set up the Commonwealth, which later gave way to the Protectorate of Cromwell. Then tiring of the dissension bred by religious and political differences the people restored the Stuarts to power and for nearly a third

of a century tolerated their despotic rule. Finally in another burst of wrath they drove the last of the Stuart despots into France, and under William III. and Queen Mary established firmly the constitutional monarchy—the beginning of the England of to-day.

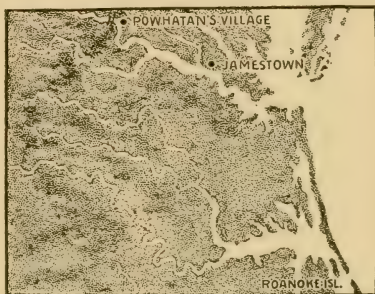
Of the Stuarts, James I. ruled from 1603 to 1625, and Charles I. from 1625 to 1649. When the latter was beheaded, the Commonwealth was set up, continuing from 1649 to 1653, when it was followed by the Protectorate. In 1660 the Restoration placed Charles II. on the throne, which he occupied until 1685. His successor, James II., ruling from 1685 to 1688, was driven from the throne, whereupon the Dutch prince, William of Orange, and Mary, the daughter of the banished king, ruled from 1688 to 1694, and William alone to 1702. Queen Anne ruled from 1702 to 1714. From Elizabeth to Anne marks a little more than a century of history. Within that century all of the thirteen original colonies but Georgia (1733) were settled. The religious persecutions of the Stuart rulers hastened the growth of the English colonies in the New World—many thousands of liberty-loving Englishmen having fled from their homes to join their brothers in America.

57. The First English Settlement in America, however, was due to business enterprise and not to persecution. At the beginning of the seventeenth century England was enjoying a period of peace, and many soldiers had returned home. Work had to be provided for them. A change had taken place in the methods and products of the farm. Increased facilities for the manufacture of woolen goods had made such a demand for that article that landowners in England had turned field into pasture. The raising of sheep required fewer laborers on the farm and this added to the overcrowding of the labor market. An outlet was necessary and America with her boundless possibilities seemed provided for the occasion. Raleigh, Pring, Gosnold, and Weymouth had opened the way and the London Com-

pany, as a purely business enterprise, planted the Jamestown colony.

VIRGINIA

58. Jamestown.—Fifty miles from the mouth of the James River stand the ruins of a church, all that is left of Jamestown, the first successful English settlement in America. It was founded in May, 1607, by one hundred and five colonists sent out by the London Company under the leadership of Captain Newport. A much more healthful location might have been found, for it



JAMESTOWN AND VICINITY

was then, as now, surrounded by swamps and marshes. But the trip across the Atlantic had been a long and stormy one; and the voyagers, eager to end the discomforts of ship life, did not deliberate long upon their landing—they hastily selected a site and stepped upon the shores of the New World.

59. The First Charter.—The first charter, though fixing the limits of the territory to be occupied by the London Company, granted no special rights to these first colonists. They were to be governed from London and the results of their labor were to be held in common. It was, however, conceded that they should have “all the rights and privileges of Englishmen,”—a phrase of vague meaning then, though destined in later years to form the basis of the claim made good on the hard-fought battlefields of the Revolution.

60. Character of the Colonists.—The success of a colony depends on the character of the colonists. They should be men who wish to make homes in the new land, and are willing to work. They should know what the resources of the country are, and be willing to develop them. The first

colonists of Virginia were not at all this sort of men. A majority of them were "gentlemen," utterly unsuited for the work in hand; not only that, they were a positive clog on the few who were of use. The early idea of the Spaniard had obtained a strong hold on them, and they spent their time in a fruitless search for gold. The summer thus wasted, the autumn brought no harvest, and they entered upon their first winter with scant provision and in miserable health.

61. Captain John Smith.—The Moses to lead them out of this plight appeared in the person of Captain John Smith. Much there is, no doubt, of romantic fancy in this character, yet were it all taken away, there remains enough of truth to stamp him an extraordinary man. John Smith had been made one of the "Council" for the colony, but on the way out had offended some of the leaders and had been placed in chains. He was released at the end of the voyage and for the first few months seems to have employed his time in a thorough exploration of the country, of which he made many excellent maps. Taken prisoner by Powhatan the story runs that the death sentence was about to be inflicted when Pocahontas, the little daughter of the chief, interceded in his behalf and saved his life. Whether fact or fancy, Pocahontas did many little deeds of kindness for the suffering colonists during that first winter, and was the means of bringing about a better understanding between the colonists and the Indians. When grown to womanhood she married John Rolfe, one of the settlers, who took her on a visit to England. She was the object there of much attention by the nobility, and was feted and feasted on every hand. Many of the early Virginians claimed descent from her.

Under Smith's leadership, the colonists were organized into working bands, sanitary measures were enforced, and the friendship of the Indians cultivated. By these means they were kept alive until aid arrived from England. Smith remained with the colonists for two years, returning to

England in 1609. Several years later he explored and mapped the coast of New England, naming many of its capes and bays. The Pilgrims, before setting sail in the *Mayflower* (1620) for the "rock-bound" coast of Massachusetts, availed themselves of a copy of this map, and landed at a point which Smith had named Plymouth.

62. The Light Almost Out—Lord Delaware Rekindles It.—On the departure of Smith, the colonists, who now numbered nearly five hundred, began their old career of idleness, bickering with the Indian, and quarreling among themselves. This could have but one result; the winter which followed was one of wretchedness and despair, and the spring found but a band of sixty of the strongest, surviving. These had already made preparation for a return to England, when the new governor, Lord Delaware, sailed into the river with shiploads of supplies and more colonists.

63. The Second and Third Charters.—Two years after the first charter was granted, another was secured of the king. The only important change was in creating the office of governor, and in giving him, instead of the Council, authority over the colonists. In 1612 a third charter was obtained. Heretofore the affairs of the colony had been administered by a board in London. This board was now abolished and the stockholders of the company put in control. The change affected the individual colonist but little. From this time, however, the colony, as a whole, improved.

64. Communism a Failure.—"All things in common" is very well in theory, but its successful practice requires ideal conditions. These were not present in the Jamestown colony. Many of the colonists were vicious idlers and jailbirds, picked up on the streets of London. To such persons, "All things in common" meant, "Put in as little as possible; get out as much as you can." Lord Delaware being in broken health, soon returned to England, and Sir Thomas Dale was appointed governor. Dale was brutally rigorous in his discipline. His gospel was law and order. A whipping-post

was established for the punishment of offenders; he imprisoned them; he put them in stocks. But he brought order out of chaos, and he placed the colony once more on a working basis. He did away with communism. Each person was required to deposit two and a half barrels of corn in the common store-house once a year, but all over that was private property. The "starving time" was a thing of the past.

65. Tobacco and Its Influence on the Life of the Colonists. So far the Virginia colony had not been successful. Why?



Was it impossible for people to grow rich and prosperous in Virginia, or had they not yet discovered where the true riches of the country lay? In order to answer these questions we shall have to examine more carefully the geography, climate and soil of this part of the Atlantic coast. If you look at a map of Virginia, you will see a low, flat country, crossed by many broad, sluggish rivers. The coast is low and marshy and guarded by long sandy islands, so there are few

good harbors. The ocean tides run many miles up the rivers, forming estuaries, and the ships float up with the tides to some point at the head of the tide water, instead of stopping at a harbor on the coast. The climate of Virginia is mild and equable. The soil is deep and fertile, and in it the tobacco plant grows luxuriantly. The people of England were just beginning to use tobacco, and were willing to pay a high price for it. The "tobacco habit" rapidly became general, and by the dawn of the seventeenth century tobacco had become a regular article of commerce. The manner of

its handling facilitates an easy exchange and it retains its merchantable quality for long periods. These points combined to make it a popular crop in Virginia.

66. Indentured Servants and the Development of the "Poor White."—White slavery was countenanced in English society at this time—not that of absolute ownership, but of a financial character. Persons in debt were required to give their labor to their creditor until the debt was discharged. A free person could sell his labor in advance. This made the buyer his owner for that period. A common method among the very poor to secure passage to the New World was to sell, or "indenture," themselves to persons of means who expected to settle there. As their term of service expired, these indentured servants found themselves in a new land, with nothing but their labor to sell, and that practically worthless because the landed class was supplied either with the indentured slave or the absolute slave, the negro. Having no means to buy land, he depended on the scant charity of the planter classes and became the progenitor of that despised element known as the "poor white."

67. A Cloud.—A thrifty Dutch sea captain anchored in James River one day in 1619 and left part of his cargo, twenty negro slaves. In 1861, at the beginning of our Civil War, there were nearly four millions of negro slaves within the borders of the republic. Like all new departures, the system of slave labor was a growth. It was distinctly unpopular at first. But it was soon found that the negro was specially adapted to the culture of the tobacco plant, and as that staple increased in value, the colonists' repugnance to slavery decreased.

68. Beginnings of the Republic.—The successful cultivation of tobacco required large tracts of land and many laborers. So each planter lived with his family, his indentured servants or his slaves, on a great estate or plantation. When the tobacco crop was ready to ship, he took it to the wharf on the bank of the river which ran

through his plantation and loaded it on his ships, which took it to England. When the ships returned they brought the planter all the manufactured articles he needed. Since each man traded directly with England, no towns, and very few cities, sprang up in Virginia; for towns depend for their existence on trade and manufacturing. The smallest polit-



BACK VIEW OF VIRGINIA MANSION SHOWING SLAVE QUARTERS

ical divisions in Virginia, therefore, were the counties, and at the county court-house the planters met at stated times to help govern the colony.

In 1619 Sir George Yeardley, a man of liberal ideas, was appointed governor, and in that same year he instituted representative government, the colonists meeting in the first Representative Assembly in America. They were to "have power to make and ordaine whatsoever laws and orders shoulde by them be thought good and profitable for their subsistence." In 1621 this "power" was embodied in a written constitution which granted among other privileges the right to elect their own representatives and the right of trial by jury. This marked the beginnings of the republic.

69. Indian Massacres of 1622 and 1644.—His early ill-treatment by the whites only served to intensify in the

Indian his naturally suspicious and revengeful nature. The wise policy of John Smith, with the consequent friendliness of Powhatan, leader of a confederation of clans numbering eight thousand, had continued to have a restraining influence, even after the death of that chieftain. So that, except in isolated cases, peace had prevailed. But in 1622 the settler was rudely awakened from his fancied security. On March 22 a massacre, planned with shrewd cunning, was started along a line of settlements one hundred and forty miles in extent. The plot had included Jamestown, but an Indian warned a friend there in time to put the people on their guard, and they were saved. Some three hundred men, women, and children were cruelly put to death before the ravages of the Indians could be checked. Vigorous measures were at once adopted to punish the Indians. They were driven from point to point, and their villages and crops laid waste. But it cost the colonists a third of their number. Peace reigned for twenty-two years, when the Indians again attempted to exterminate the whites. But this time they were so thoroughly punished that there was never again a general uprising in Virginia.

70. The Charter Revoked.—The growth of the Virginia colony had now reached a point at which it began to be a matter of public moment. In 1619 its friends in parliament were strong enough to secure the appointment of Yeardley and the institution of the reforms he inaugurated. The House of Burgesses, the first popular constitutional body in the colonies, was established in this year. But the democratic tendency of these reforms was particularly obnoxious to King James I. He was exceedingly jealous of his rights, and feared the outcome of this liberal spirit. He therefore took occasion to pick a quarrel with the stockholders. He used the result of the Indian massacre as the basis of a charge that they were unable to give proper protection to the colonists, and shrewdly threw the contest into the courts, where, the judges being under his control,

the charge against the stockholders was sustained. The charter was at once revoked and a royal governor was appointed by the king, but the attention of the king being required at home, no further disturbance of conditions occurred.

71. Two Types—Berkeley and Bacon.—Aside from the historical interest connected with the acts of Sir William Berkeley and Nathaniel Bacon, they may each be taken to represent distinct types among the colonists. These types, developing early, gradually enrolled the adherents of monarchical rule on the one side, while on the other were gathered those of democratic tendencies. The contest between them culminated in the Revolution.

After the charter was revoked in 1624, the king appointed the governors who, in conjunction with the House of Burgesses, ruled the colony. Naturally, these men were in sympathy with the policies of the appointing power. Their rule was arbitrary in the degree that English home-rule was arbitrary.

72. Sir William Berkeley was appointed governor in 1644. James I. had died, and Charles I., even more insistent of "kingly rights" than his predecessor, was on the throne. Berkeley was most zealous in the cause of his master, and soon was at swords' points with the Virginia House of Burgesses and the people. That he did not lose his head on account of his tyrannical rule, as did his royal master, was largely due to the lack of a leader and the forbearance of the people. He was recalled in 1651, but on the accession of Charles II. was again appointed governor by the Virginia Assembly. He proved a fit tool for that erratic monarch, for, although the colonists had been loyal to the Crown during the period of the Commonwealth, that did not deter Berkeley in the course of oppression he immediately adopted in relation to Virginia. For the purpose of increasing the revenues, he ordered a rigorous enforcement of the Navigation Act (1651), which made it obligatory to ship all products to England in English ves-

sels. All purchases for the colonies were to pass through English ports, and to be brought over in English ships. This lowered the price of what they had to sell and raised the price of that which they wished to buy. On his part, Berkeley secured the election of a House of Burgesses composed in great part of royalists. In conjunction with these, he levied exorbitant taxes, restricted the suffrage to "land-owners and housekeepers," and passed oppressive laws concerning church attendance. He ignored the rights of the people by continuing this same House for sixteen years without an election—simply adjourning it from year to year. As years passed, this policy resulted in a feeling of discontent among the people, and when in 1673 the king, in disregard of the sacred rights of the colonists, actually gave to two of his court favorites the whole of Virginia, this discontent increased to the point of insurrection. It needed but a leader and a moving cause—the former was present in the person of Nathaniel Bacon; the latter in the person of the restive Algonkin savage on the frontier.

73. Nathaniel Bacon was a young lawyer who had suffered with the people. He knew their trials; he also knew their rights as Englishmen, and dared to maintain them. For several years the Indians had been committing depredations on the border. Berkeley had been importuned to suppress them by ordering out the militia, but, fearing lest they turn on him, he had refused. Finally, the people assembled and elected young Bacon commander, yet Berkeley refused him a commission and declared him a rebel. Bacon and his followers, however, defeated the Indians, and later drove Berkeley and his adherents on board ship, where they were kept prisoners until certain reforms were agreed to. But when quiet was restored, the royalists refused to carry out the reforms. Bacon and his men, many of whom were owners of property in Jamestown, now resolved on heroic measures. They drove the royalists out of Jamestown and burned it to the ground, many setting the torch to their own homes.

Williamsburg was made the seat of government by the successful colonists. The rebellion was at its height when the leader fell ill of a fever and died—and with him died the revolt. Berkeley, regaining control of the government, visited terrible retribution on those engaged in the rebellion. He hanged a large number, imprisoned others and confiscated the property of all the leaders. So severe was he that the king himself in a burst of impatience declared that Berkeley had taken more lives in that naked country than he himself had for the murder of his father.

MASSACHUSETTS—THE PLYMOUTH COLONY

PLYMOUTH, 1620

74. The Plymouth Company.—On the failure of the first attempt of the Plymouth Company in 1607 on the coast of Maine, the members became involved in a controversy as to management, and nothing further was done until after reorganization of the Company in 1620. It then became known as the “Council for New England.”

75. Religious Awakening of the Sixteenth Century.—If the times are propitious, any reform, as it proceeds, gathers strength from causes without, as well as within, itself. Luther’s protest in 1517 became a great religious awakening, and in time changed the established lines of religious thought. Its success was enhanced by the fact that an awakening was also in progress in educational, scientific, and all other lines of thought. In England the movement resulted in the establishment of the Church of England, whose ritual retained much of the formal method of worship used by the Catholic Church.

76. What is a Puritan? a Separatist? a Pilgrim?—These are common terms in the history of Massachusetts. In the Church of England was a body of men who were called Puritans because they desired to “purify” the church. A majority of the Puritans would have been satisfied if this had been done. Others resolved to throw off all semblance to the Catholic

Church, use none of the forms, and make religion a matter of conscience. These "separated" from the national church and from the main body of Puritans and established a church of their own. They were called "Separatists." The Pilgrims were Separatists who found it necessary, on account of the opposition of the king, to leave England. They settled at Leyden, Holland, where they were allowed to worship according to their peculiar belief. On account of their wanderings, they were called "Pilgrims."

77. The Pilgrims.—But while they were given freedom of worship, the Pilgrims found that that did not constitute all that was desirable in life. They were among a people foreign in language and in customs. As years passed they saw their children adopting the language, the manners, the dress, of the Hollander. They longed for a place where they might, without danger of losing their identity as Englishmen, have that religious freedom for which they had sacrificed so much. The New World presented such a field, and in September of 1620, after many grievous trials and disappointments, a company of one hundred or more of the bravest set sail for America in the good ship *Mayflower*. The men of this little company were very different from the "gentlemen" who went to Virginia to hunt for gold, or from the real gentlemen who went there later to live on the great plantations. The Pilgrims came to this country to make homes for themselves and their families. They came that they might enjoy once more the political and religious freedom which they had lost in their English home through the tyranny of King Charles II. They were men accustomed to work, fearless of hardships, and determined to succeed.

78. The Voyage and the Compact.—During the nine weeks of the voyage the weather proved exceedingly rough, and the *Mayflower* was driven hither and thither, the sport of the winds. The Pilgrims having secured a grant from the London Company, intended to settle in the northern part of that Company's dominions, but the captain lost his

bearings, and it was found on sighting land they had been driven north to the coast of Massachusetts. They entered Cape Cod Bay, and landed at the place which Captain John Smith in his map had called Plymouth—and thus “Plymouth Rock” became one of the historic spots of America. To-day a suitable monument marks the spot, commemorative of the “Landing of the Pilgrim Fathers.”

Being outside the London Company grant, their charter was void. They therefore gathered in the cabin of the Mayflower and “solemnly covenanted and combined themselves into a ‘civil body politick’ for their ‘better ordering and preservation.’” They acknowledged King James as their sovereign, but they declared as well their intention to make and obey their own laws. This was not an announcement of independence, but it meant self-government. This compact was solemnly signed, John Carver was chosen governor, and the Pilgrims began their new life.

79. Hardships Endured.—The landing was made December, 1620. The prospect was anything but inviting. Winter had already set in, and it was upon them in all its New England rigor ere they could provide themselves suitable shelter. Sickness resulted, and before the winter was over half their number were in their graves, Governor Carver among them. But the living despaired not. They were sustained by the strongest sentiments that spring from the human heart—love of liberty, and the love of God. The return of spring brought brighter days. More Pilgrims joined the colony and before another winter came they were in better condition to withstand its rigor.

80. The Indians and Miles Standish.—In his “History of Plymouth Plantation,” William Bradford, who had succeeded to the leadership on the death of John Carver, remarks concerning their choice of location that “it was devoid of all civill inhabitants, wher ther are only savage and brutish men which range up and downe, little otherwise than ye wild beasts of the same.” On account of the firmness and

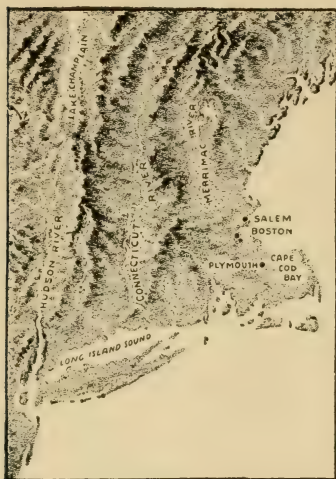
vigilance of Miles Standish, the military man of the colony, these "brutish" men gave them little trouble. This was, to some extent, due to the fact that a pestilence had several years before almost completely annihilated the Indians of that immediate section. Massasoit, their chief, visited the colony and, being treated kindly, he became the fast friend of the colonists and for years no serious trouble occurred.

MASSACHUSETTS—BAY COLONY

SALEM, 1628

81. The Puritans at Salem and Boston.—Although greatly persecuted by the king and Archbishop Laud, the head of the Church of England, the Puritans rapidly became a power in English social and political life. Many of them were of the nobility, men of wealth and standing. They could not tamely submit to the exactions of the king. The success of the Plymouth colony was by this time assured and turned the thoughts of many to the New World. A company was formed, a grant secured between the Charles and Merrimac rivers, and from "sea to sea," and, in 1628, a small company under the leadership of John Endicott settled at Salem. The leaders in England continued to agitate the matter and the following year succeeded in securing from the king a very liberal charter which practically placed the government in their own hands. It was resolved by the company to move at once to this grant, and, in 1630, a wholesale immigration began. This was unlike the beginnings of Virginia or Plymouth. The larger number of the newcomers were men of property, of education, accustomed to the refinements of life and to have a voice in the affairs of state. They took with them every appliance of civilized life then known. They "transplanted, full grown, a large and healthy tree of liberty and set it in the soil of a new state." About one thousand persons composed the first body to leave England. Their arrival was hailed with joy by the settlers at Plymouth and Salem. They settled for the most part at points about

Boston Bay; some at Salem, others started Charlestown, while still others, among them Governor Winthrop, laid out the town of Boston. The map shows that the geography



of this country differs from the geography of Virginia. This caused a difference in the occupations of the people. The rocky soil is thin and poor, the rivers short and rapid. Obviously, their chief source of wealth was in manufacturing and in commerce, for which the deeply-indented seacoast furnishes harbors. As a result, towns and cities sprang up all over New England. The town, and not the county, became the unit of government.

82. Church and State.—In the government of the colony the suffrage and office-holding privilege was extended to church members only. The union of church and state thus became as complete as in Old England, and even more so. Only one religious belief was allowed. To depart by a hair's breadth from this was heresy, punishable by fine and imprisonment, and, if persisted in, by banishment.

83. The Growth of Democracy—The Town Meeting.—The "town meeting" was an institution in which, from the beginning, the plant of democracy found its richest soil. There every matter of public moment was open for discussion. Once a week, or oftener, if public business required it, they gathered in the "town house," made simple rules for the government of the community, settled disputes or engaged in social converse. The effect was to interest each individual in the welfare of the community. It developed the idea of individual responsibility, so essential to a republican form of government.

There was born that spirit which dared imprison Andros; which later applauded Otis's "taxation without representation is tyranny"; which made Massachusetts the leader in the Revolution.

84. Religious Differences : Roger Williams, Anne Hutchinson, and the Quakers.—The Puritans left the Church of England for conscience sake. Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson gave the same reason for leaving the Puritans. The freedom of speech demanded by the Puritan necessarily produced fruit of its kind. It was therefore natural that differences should arise. In 1631 there came to Plymouth a young Welshman, Roger Williams, of greatly advanced ideas concerning religion and government. He believed in complete religious toleration, such as we practice to-day. He also believed in the complete separation of church and state. In Salem, where he became pastor of the church, he preached these views with such earnestness as to incur the displeasure of the leading men. For the Puritan came to America for freedom to worship as *he* believed proper, not to offer an asylum for all beliefs. Williams had also offended the government by declaring that land should be bought direct from the Indian; that the king had no right to make grants, for the reason that the land did not belong to him. These doctrines so alarmed the leaders of the colony that they determined to send Williams to England for trial. Receiving word of this, Williams took refuge with some friendly Indians, with whom he stayed during the winter of 1636. In that year he founded Providence. Anne Hutchinson also came under the ban of the Puritan leaders for preaching doctrines contrary to their belief. She had come to Boston in 1634 and being very eloquent, and of great ability in the discussion of religious questions, soon had the colonists in a ferment. In 1637 she was banished.

Later in the history of the colony the Quakers caused serious disturbances by teaching their doctrines. They were repeatedly banished, but as often returned. A peace-loving

people, they cheerfully bore all punishment visited upon them. Before the persecution had run its course several of the sect suffered martyrdom for conscience sake.

85. Salem Witchcraft.—In 1692 occurred in Salem, Massachusetts, what has since been referred to in history as “Salem Witchcraft.” A belief prevailed at that time that a human being could suspend the laws of nature by the aid of evil spirits, and, while under their control, invoke injury to his fellows. The “delusion” became general, and for six months a reign of terror prevailed in Salem. Before it ran its course nineteen persons had been hanged and fifty-five tortured as witches. Some of the most eminent people had been engaged in this persecution, among others, the noted clergyman, Cotton Mather. One of the judges who had condemned some of the witches to death was so stricken with remorse that he afterwards rose in his place once a year in church, confessed his error, and asked the forgiveness of the people. While at its height, no one dared deny a belief in the delusion, as it was in the power of any ignorant or vicious person who had a grudge against another to declare him a witch. If more than one person so testified in court it was likely to go hard with the person accused.

86. Andros.—During the early existence of the colony, Massachusetts had not suffered any serious annoyances from the home government, as the colony had friends in parliament who looked after its interests. Like Virginia, Massachusetts had felt the enforcement of the Navigation Act, but on the whole, had continued to prosper. The governors of the colony had been for the most part chosen from among themselves, and the liberal character of the charter granted by Charles I. had permitted almost perfect self-government. By the many evasions of the Navigation Act, and by the independence the colonists manifested in the dispute over the New Hampshire boundaries and the separation of Maine Charles II. was angered, and in 1684 secured the revocation of the charter by a decision of the Court of King’s

Bench. In 1686 James II. appointed Sir Edmund Andros governor of the New England colonies, with headquarters at Boston. During the three years of his incumbency, the colony was in a constant turmoil. Contrary to the wishes of the colonists, he set up the Church of England, even seizing one of their meeting houses for that purpose. So obnoxious did Andros become, that the colonists rose against him and, even before the banishment of his royal master from England, had determined to rid themselves of him. When news of the banishment of James II. reached them they at once seized Andros (1689) and sent him to England for trial. He, however, escaped punishment and later served a term as governor of Virginia.

Through the efforts of Increase Mather, who was in England at that time as the agent of the Massachusetts Bay colony, a new charter was obtained after the banishment of Andros. In securing this charter, difficulties had arisen in connection with Plymouth colony, England being determined that Plymouth should not be separately chartered. Indeed Plymouth colony had never been able to obtain a charter from the king, because of its avowed opposition to the Church of England. By the terms of this new charter, obtained in 1691, the territories of the Massachusetts Bay colony, the Plymouth colony and Maine were united under the name of Massachusetts and became a royal province, its governor to be appointed by the king.

NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

87. Gorges and Mason.—The history of these colonies is closely allied to that of Massachusetts. Several years before a charter had been granted to the latter colony Sir Ferdinando Gorges and John Mason had obtained a grant of land reaching from the Kennebec to the Merrimac River. They established several fishing stations, one at Dover, another near Portsmouth. When the Massachusetts grant was made, it lapped over three miles on the New Hampshire grant. An

attempt was afterwards made to rectify the error, but the work was not well done and the Massachusetts colony never admitted the claim of the Gorges and Mason heirs. It led to endless dispute, as the heirs were persistent in demanding their rights. The matter was finally somewhat quieted by the payment of a sum of money by the Massachusetts colony. By an agreement between Gorges and Mason, the latter took the land west of the Piscataqua, calling it New Hampshire; the former took the part east of that river and called it Maine. Maine never had a separate existence from Massachusetts, as it was always claimed by that colony. New Hampshire was several times united to Massachusetts for protection from the Indians. It finally became a royal colony and remained so until the Revolution. The first settlement of New Hampshire was made at Dover, in 1623. Maine was settled in the same year.

CONNECTICUT

SAYBROOKE, 1635

88. The New England Pilgrims and the Dutch Forts.—Connecticut was settled almost entirely by people from Massachusetts. Dutch traders had early settled at Hartford on the Connecticut River, and had built a fort at its mouth, but, being few in number, they were not able to hold it against Lords Say and Brooke, who had received a grant on the river from the king. The English proprietors made John Winthrop, son of the Massachusetts governor, their agent. With a small colony from Massachusetts, he sailed, in 1635, into the mouth of the Connecticut River, drove the Dutch away and made a settlement he called Saybrooke, in honor of his patrons. The tendency toward too close an alliance between church and state had become a matter of alarm to certain of the residents of Massachusetts towns, notably in Dorchester, Watertown, and Cambridge. In 1636, under the leadership of the pastor at Cambridge, Thomas Hooker, a party made their way through the wilderness and made settle-

ments at Hartford, Windsor, and Wethersfield. These settlements increased rapidly in the next few years. The immigration from England to Massachusetts at this time was very heavy; and at this time also occurred the religious dissensions caused by Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson. In 1637 a party of wealthy immigrants from England settled New Haven. Their government was made to resemble a theocracy as nearly as possible. The Bible was their guide. Trial by jury, for instance, was denied, because it was not known in the Mosaic law.

89. The Written Constitution.—In 1639 the different settlements on the Connecticut River met at Hartford and drew up a written constitution. New Haven was not represented because she did not agree with the upper settlements in matters of religion. The constitution was most liberal in its provisions and showed thus early the remarkable growth of democracy in New England.

Church and state were separated by requiring no religious qualification of the voter; every township had representation in the Assembly; provision was made for the establishment of free schools; no reference whatever was made to a king.

90. Pequot War.—The Indians with whom the New England colonists had to deal, were, for the most part, peaceably inclined, and, as they were generally treated with fairness, the earlier years passed with little friction. However, it was not in Indian nature to see the white man increasing in numbers and strength, and the ancient hunting grounds of his fathers changing to cultivated fields, without entering a protest. As time passed, the Indian awoke to the fact that in the sale of his land he had forfeited his right forever. The realization of this fact caused him to become suspicious of all acts of the white settlers. Warlike in nature and accustomed to take counsel only of his wrongs and the possible power to redress them, physical retaliation was his first thought. It was, therefore, but a few years until the more warlike tribes were in open revolt against the whites.

The Pequots, a small tribe occupying the eastern part of Connecticut, were the first to give trouble. When the Massachusetts emigration in 1635-37 took place, the settlers were at once subject to annoyance from these Indians and soon a massacre of the whites occurred. This was charged to the account of the Pequots, and a band of settlers, under the leadership of the redoubtable John Endicott, retaliated. The Pequots then attempted to organize a confederacy, but, not being able to secure the help of the Narragansetts, the influence of Roger Williams having kept that tribe friendly, they took the warpath alone. The colonists acted with promptness. Captain John Mason, with a band of Connecticut settlers, aided by John Underhill and a company from Boston, with some seventy friendly Indians, attacked and burned their palisaded fort. Accounts differ as to the number killed, but it is certain that from four hundred to six hundred men, women, and children, met death, either at the hands of the attacking party or in the flames. The few that escaped were sold into slavery, and thus the whole tribe was exterminated—a piece of Old Testament justice which seems terrible to contemplate, but which, judged from the provocation and the ideas of justice held in that day, might possibly be excused. Certain it is that the Indian mind of all that region was so deeply impressed with the power of the whites that an entirely new generation of warriors was necessary before the famous King Philip could organize his confederacy.

91. The United Colonies of New England.—1643.—The Pequot War, the renewed attempts of the Dutch to regain control of their lost territory, the encroachments of the French and Indians on the north, and the war between Charles I. and his subjects, made it seem desirable that a general union of the colonies should be encouraged. On the proposition of Connecticut, the people in every town in New England except those of Rhode Island met in their town meetings and elected delegates to a General Court to

meet at the seat of government of each of the colonies. These courts elected delegates to a convention to be held in Boston. Thus the people of each town, as well as the whole colony, were represented in this first Congress. On meeting they formed the "United Colonies of New England." Four colonies were represented—Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New Haven. Each was to furnish its quota of soldiers for the common defence and bear a proportionate amount of the expense. Each was represented in the general body by two delegates, who formed a Board of Commissioners.

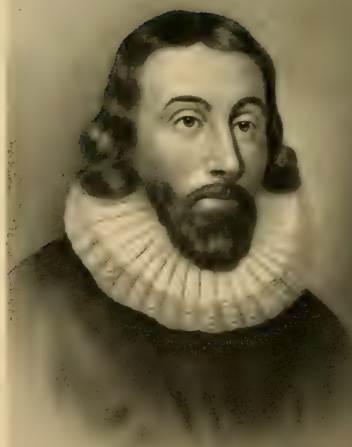
92. King Philip's War and the Checking of Missionary Work Among the Indians.—Massasoit, the chief of the Wampanoags, had been treated so kindly by the Pilgrims during that first hard winter, that he was ever after a sincere friend of the whites. At his death, in 1660, his son, Philip, became chief of the tribe and was soon engaged in an effort to organize a confederacy of all the New England Indians for the extermination of the whites. The missionary work of John Eliot had been instrumental in partially civilizing some four thousand of the Indians, while some of the tribes had always been more friendly than others, so that he was successful in interesting but three tribes—the Wampanoags, the Nipmucks, and the Narragansetts. Hostilities began in June, 1675, at the town of Swansea, where an attack was made and followed up at several other towns, a number of whites being killed. The "United Colonies" at once organized and punished the Wampanoags severely. Philip was not captured, however, and continued the war at the head of the Nipmucks and the Narragansetts. The colonists now took efficient measures for the organization of a large force, each colony furnishing its quota. In December an army of one thousand men marched against the Narragansetts. This tribe, to the number of three thousand, had erected a fort in the center of a swamp; for this reason the fight that followed is known as the "swamp fight." The

fort was attacked and all the features of the Pequot extermination were enacted, though not quite so successfully in this case. One thousand of the Indians were killed and a number taken prisoners—these were quartered in the different towns for a long period and made to serve the whites, or actually sold into slavery. Several hundred escaped, however, and for years kept the frontier in a state of terror. King Philip was killed the next year through the treachery of one of his own Indians.

This was the last organized Indian war the New England colonists experienced,—though the exposed settlements felt the merciless hatred of the survivors through another hundred years. The war was not without its good fruits, though the loss of thirteen towns and six hundred lives, together with the accumulation of a burdensome debt, was a fearful price to pay. It was the first time that anything like a general gathering for defence had been necessary. It taught the value of union, and helped to break down the religious and political prejudices existing, in marked degree, among the colonies at that time.

One outcome of the war was the check given to the missionary work of the Reverend John Eliot. He had done a grand work among the Indians, gathering into separate towns those who professed conversion and were desirous of trying the ways of civilization. Prior to the war, some thirty of these “praying” towns had been organized, and many of the Indians had made great advancement. But as the war came on, the natural instinct of many of these “praying” Indians got the better of their educational training, and in one case a whole town went over to the enemy. This had the effect of cooling the missionary zeal of the colonists, and the work gradually ceased.

93. The Connecticut Charter.—When James II. sent Andros to be governor of all New England, in 1686, it was with instructions to annul all the charters and unite the colonies under one government. This he proceeded to do without



WILLIAM PENN
JOHN WINTHROP

JONATHAN EDWARDS
ROGER WILLIAMS

COLONIAL LEADERS

regard to the protests of the different colonies. When he went to Hartford he met with an especially earnest protest. While the conference was proceeding between Governor Robert Treat and Andros, and it seemed certain that Andros would carry out his purpose, the candles were suddenly blown out. When they were relighted, it was found that the charter had been spirited away and could not be found. It had been taken by Captain Wadsworth and placed in the trunk of a hollow oak tree near by, where it remained until Andros had returned to Boston. This oak was ever after known as the "Charter Oak" and remained standing until a storm blew it down in 1856.

RHODE ISLAND

PROVIDENCE, 1636

94. Providence Founded—1636.—During his residence in Salem, Roger Williams had cultivated the acquaintance of the Indians and had learned to speak their language fluently. Banished from Massachusetts in the midst of winter, he found a welcome in the wigwams of these Indians. In the spring Canonicus, chief of the Narragansetts, gave him a tract of land, and with five companions he founded Providence, so named because of his "confidence in the mercies of God." Here he invited the oppressed of every clime, of whatever belief, giving them freely of the land he had received from the Indians.

95. Anne Hutchinson's Settlements, Portsmouth and Newport.—Some of the followers of Anne Hutchinson upon banishment from Massachusetts founded towns to the north. Others, in company with their leader, bought the island of Aquedneck, or Rhode Island, from the Indians, and settled Portsmouth (1638) and Newport (1639). As in Providence, the utmost freedom was allowed. Religion was made a matter of conscience. All participated in the affairs of government.

96. Roger Williams Secures a Charter—1644.—There was much in common between the settlements of Providence, Ports-

mouth, and Newport. It was therefore determined to unite them under a common government. With that idea in view, Roger Williams was sent, in 1643, to England to secure a charter. He returned the following year with the document and the settlements were thenceforth known as the "Providence Plantations."

97. Liberal Ideas as to Religion.—The establishment of Providence Plantations marked a distinct epoch in government in the New World. As noted before, the Puritan in Massachusetts was as intolerant as were the people in England from whom he had fled. The Connecticut settlements took a decided step in advance of Massachusetts, but it remained for Rhode Island to grant complete religious toleration. Men of all beliefs or of no belief were made welcome.

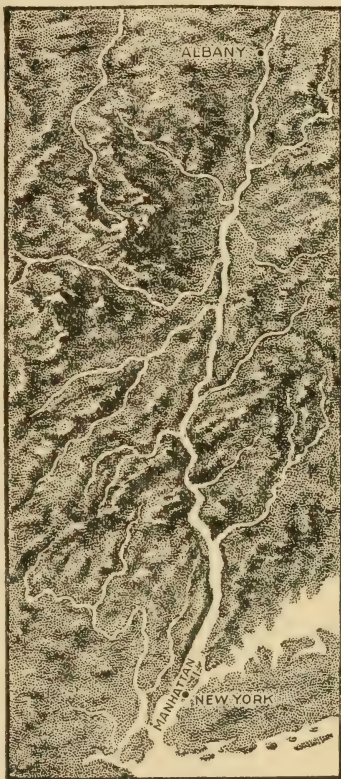
98. Separation of Church and State.—Williams believed that religion should have nothing to do with civil affairs. The Puritan required every man to support the government and the church; if he were a church member, he could hold office and vote; otherwise, he had no voice in the institutions he helped support. Roger Williams insisted that no man ought to be required to support that of which he was not a part; that it was wrong to tax a man unless he be given a voice in how this tax was to be distributed. This was the first formal recognition of that principle which the colonies fought so valiantly to maintain a century later—"taxation without representation is tyranny."

NEW YORK

99. New Amsterdam and the Dutch Traders.—From the day that Henry Hudson arrived in Holland with stories of the beautiful river he had discovered, and of the valuable furs that could be secured from the Indians for mere trinkets, Dutch traders began to visit that section. They claimed all the territory between the Delaware and Connecticut rivers. As early as 1613 they built a few huts on the present site of New York and named the settlement

New Amsterdam. In 1621 the Dutch government chartered the West India Company, giving it unlimited powers over all colonies established. This Company two years later built Fort Orange, now Albany, and made permanent settlement at New Amsterdam. A brisk trade was carried on with the Indians, but no effort was made, until later in the history of the colony, to cultivate the land. In 1626 the first Dutch governor arrived. He bought Manhattan Island of the Indians for twenty-four dollars, about one mill per acre.

100. The Grant to the Duke of York.—In establishing colonies in the New World, the Dutch had not taken into account, if they knew it, the claim of the English to the territory, based on the Cabot voyage. On their part, the English allowed a half century to pass before they enforced recognition of the claim. But in 1664 Charles II. granted to his brother, the Duke of York, all the territory between the Connecticut and the Delaware, and an English fleet was sent to dispossess the Dutch. These burghers had been so intent on commercial affairs that they had neglected fortifying their territory. They had erected a small fort at New Amsterdam, but as it could not stand against the attack of so formidable an enemy it was decided to surrender; this, much to the disgust of old Peter Stuyvesant, the Dutch governor, who



NEW YORK AND VICINITY

desired to give battle to the English. New Amsterdam took the name of New York, and Fort Orange that of Albany.

Dutch rule was thus ended in America, except for a short period nine years later, when a Dutch fleet appeared in the harbor and demanded the surrender of the town. The following year it was retaken by the English.

101. Indian Policy of the Dutch.—About the same time that Champlain incurred for the French the lasting enmity of the Iroquois by joining a war party of Hurons against them, Henry Hudson was inaugurating for the Dutch that successful policy which made the Iroquois their lasting friends. The Dutch traders soon found that “honesty was the best policy,” even with the Indians. They always paid them for their land, and gave full value for the furs they received in trade. For this reason the Dutch usually lived on friendly



DUTCH HOUSES

terms with the Indians, and their friendship was secured to the English when the latter came into control. The “Five Nations” for years were consistent friends of the English as against the French, and even in the Revolution followed the English flag.

102. Jacob Leisler.—Peter Stuyvesant was the most energetic of the Dutch governors and did much to extend Dutch rule in America. He, however, became so arrogant and severe in his dealings with the colonists, that they were not sorry when the English took control. They had hoped to be accorded the same measure of liberty that prevailed in other English colonies. In this they were not disappointed. The royal governors of course ruled after the arbitrary example set by their sovereign, but the colonists succeeded in getting a representative assembly in 1683. Andros, who was governor from 1674 to 1680, and again in 1688, was as

unpopular in New York as he was in Massachusetts, and when James II. was deposed his deputy was at once required to hand over the reins of government. Jacob Leisler, an uncultured but successful merchant, and popular with the common people, assumed the governorship. Although somewhat arbitrary, he pleased the people fairly well for three years, when the governor sent over by the new king put in an appearance. For reasons not clearly understood Leisler refused for some time to give up the office. He was finally arrested and executed for treason.



DUTCHMAN

103. The Patroon System.—Trading with the Indians was so profitable that farming was little thought of in the early history of this colony. But the company inaugurated a system in 1629 which they hoped might induce people to settle along the rivers for the purpose of cultivating the land. They agreed to give to anyone who would settle a colony of fifty persons on the land, a tract of sixteen miles along any river, without limit as to depth, or eight miles on both sides of the river. These parties were to have absolute control, not only of their land, but of the settlers on the land. A number availed themselves of this offer. But this “patroon system,” as it was called, proved detrimental to the progress of the colony. It created a wealthy landed aristocracy, which in time assumed too



DUTCH MAIDEN

much power in the government of the colony; it also discouraged the settling of less wealthy people in the agricul-

tural districts. In 1640, the "charter was modified and extended to any good citizen of the Netherlands." The antirent difficulties in New York in 1844 grew out of these old patroon land titles.

104. Education and Religion.—Religion was never a matter for controversy among the Dutch. Religious toleration was complete with them. All creeds were welcome. The charter of the West India Company, however, was the first in the New World to enjoin the care of education and religion on the people.

NEW JERSEY

ELIZABETHTOWN, 1665

105. Berkeley and Carteret—East and West Jersey.—This colony was first claimed by the Dutch and settlement made by them as early as 1620. When the English took New York in 1664, the Duke of York granted the land between the Delaware and Hudson rivers to Lord Berkeley, and Sir George Carteret, naming it New Jersey in honor of the latter's famous defence of the Island of Jersey against Cromwell. Under "the Concessions," a document issued by the proprietors (and which afterwards assumed the importance of a charter), an English settlement was begun at Elizabethtown in 1665, and in the following year New Englanders founded Newark and Middletown. Freedom of religious belief was accorded settlers and the colony became a refuge for the oppressed of all denominations. In 1673 Berkeley sold his right to the Quakers. By an agreement between the proprietors, a division was made in 1674, the Quakers taking the west part of the grant and Carteret the east. In 1682 Carteret's heirs also sold to the Quakers. William Penn and his associates held New Jersey until 1702, when they relinquished all their rights to the English government. It was then united to New York, though electing its own assembly. In 1738 it was made a royal province.

106. Title Troubles.—New Jersey was under the jurisdiction of so many different parties in its early history that title

to the land became confused. Those who settled under the Dutch claimed large tracts, the boundaries to which were vague and uncertain. This was true also of the Swedes. When the English took charge there was a disposition to interfere with these claims. As years passed, and the land was sold to different parties, endless and bitter disputes arose as to ownership. At last the proprietors in despair sold out their rights to the government, which succeeded finally in quieting titles.

107. New Jersey.—The colonial history of New Jersey is very commonplace. No great patriotic or religious sentiment was manifest in its settlement. There were no uprisings of the people in behalf of liberty as against tyrannical governors; no horrible Indian atrocities; no rebellions; no witchcraft. This was due to environment, and to the fact that the dominant elements in the settlement of the colony, Quakers and Presbyterians, were more staid and peace-loving than some other classes. But the plant of liberty grew as sturdily in New Jersey as in New England. The Revolution found no more loyal and enthusiastic supporters when once the die had been cast.

PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA, 1682

108. The Quakers.—Of the many sects born of the religious unrest in the seventeenth century, none has left a deeper impress on the cause of liberty and popular government than the Quakers. George Fox was founder of this sect and William Penn its greatest apostle. The practices and belief of the Quakers



QUAKERS

were diametrically opposed to the state religion. They eschewed all forms, believed in the direct guidance of God,

or the "inner light" received from God—thus making an enlightened conscience their guide in their daily life. In the belief that it was disloyalty to the Supreme Ruler, they refused to show respect to many of the customs of society and the requirements of government. They remained covered in the presence of royalty; they refused to take oath in court; they would not go to war, nor would they pay taxes for the prosecution of war. They believed in the abolition of all titles, in straightforward language, in sober deportment and dress. These departures necessarily brought persecution, but they early showed such a contempt for the various methods of persecution employed—even gladly suffering if it were for the sake of their belief—that they were frequently allowed to remain in quiet. These qualities, together with a most persistent missionary spirit, soon spread their doctrines and they became a power for good in the land. They were ideal material out of which to build a state, for Quakerism "cherished the essence of democracy, because one of its necessary beliefs was that each man was the equal of every other."

109. William Penn and His "Holy Experiment."—William Penn was the son of Admiral Penn of the English navy. With all the advantages of wealth and position, he chose to forsake all for conscience sake. While a student at Oxford he came under the influence of a Quaker minister and at once became an enthusiastic convert. Thinking to wean him from his belief the father sent him to Paris, and the gaities of that city seemed to have the desired effect. But later he again came under the teachings of this sect, and this time gave up his life to the spread of its peculiar doctrines. His social position was of little avail in warding off persecution, for he was repeatedly thrown into prison, and made to suffer the contempt and disdain of his former friends. He was several times cast off by his father, but as often taken back and at his death inherited a considerable fortune. This gave him the opportunity to carry out a plan

for the establishment of a haven for his persecuted brethren. The king had become indebted to his father in the sum of sixteen thousand pounds. This debt was cancelled in consideration of the gift of forty thousand square miles in America, part of the Duke of York's grant, and which the king named Penn's Woods, or Pennsylvania, in honor of the father. Penn at once began preparations on a large scale for the colonization of this tract. He advertised it thoroughly, sending agents throughout the various countries of Europe. In 1681 the first colony was sent over, and the following year he himself came with others. Although he did not remain long in America, he visited it several times, and spent the remainder of his life in promoting the welfare of the colony he had established.

110. Philadelphia Founded.—Selecting a suitable site between the Schuylkill and Delaware rivers, Penn in 1682 laid out the city of Philadelphia, the name signifying "brotherly love." The success of the venture was flattering from the first. During the first year one hundred houses were built. In two years the city contained two thousand inhabitants and at the end of the century was the second city in America. Penn himself had a handsome home built there, though he occupied it but a short time. Not only in its increase in population did this colony surpass other colonies, but also in the varied occupations of its people. A study of the



geography of the colony indicates many natural products and resources. The industrial life very early found expression in manufacturing, mining, and farming.

111. Penn's Indian Policy.—The essence of the famous Indian policy of William Penn is contained in a single sentence of a letter to a friend concerning their treatment—"Justice gains and awes them." He applied the Golden Rule. They responded in kind. Although he was rightful owner of the land according to the custom of the time, he immediately proceeded to buy the tract of those who were morally entitled to it. Under a stately elm, which stood the storms of over a century after the scene was enacted, he made solemn covenant with them. "We are one flesh and blood," said he. And they replied, "While the river runs and the sun shines, we will live in peace with the children of William Penn." Until the breaking out of the French and Indian War the borders of Pennsylvania were free from the atrocities visited on the other colonies.

112. Boundary Lines.—Like all other colonies, Pennsylvania had much trouble concerning her boundaries. On the north, New York and Connecticut objected to the liberal Penn grant and for years much ill feeling was engendered. On the south, the claims of Lord Baltimore had to be considered. These disputes were not finally disposed of until 1766, when the famous "Mason and Dixon" line was run by two English surveyors from whom the line was named.

As an instance of the manner in which boundaries were located in that early day, it is related of Penn that his agreement with the Indians for a certain tract of land calling for so much as could be "walked over in three days," was strictly adhered to. Penn and the Indians gathered on a certain day and walked leisurely into the forest. The next day they walked till noon, when the junket was adjourned. The distance covered was some thirty miles, with still a day and a half to walk. Some fifty years after, the remaining portion was

walked. This time famous "sprinters" were hired, they covering eighty-six miles in thirty-six hours.

113. Charter and Government.—Certain circumstances combined to make the charter granted to Penn a very liberal one, though Charles II. at that time was bent on enforcing a very narrow policy in the colonies. The friendship which had existed between the king and old Admiral Penn softened him toward the son; the close friendship existing between William Penn and the king's brother, the Duke of York, made the king kindly disposed; the fact of the Quakers being persecuted by the Puritans whom the king disliked caused Charles to be especially kind to the Quakers. The charter granted Penn full power to govern as he thought best,—reserving to the people the right of appeal to the king, and requiring that all acts passed by the legislative body should be ratified by him.

"Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery," was a principle stated by Penn, and he followed it strictly. In the "Frame of Government" issued by him he required strict obedience to the laws, but made few of them and those very liberal. A Council and Assembly were granted—members to be elected by freemen, having "faith in Christ." Penn governed by deputies during his lifetime, and his heirs followed the same plan.

DELAWARE

WILMINGTON, 1638

114. The Three Lower Counties.—The entire tract of Penn's grant lay west of the Delaware. This shut him off from the ocean, and in order to secure an outlet he bought of the Duke of York his remaining interest, known thenceforth as "the three lower counties on the Delaware," or the "Territories." These were settled by much the same class of people as were found in Penn's own colony, and until 1703 were under the same government. At their request, Penn granted them a separate Assembly, his deputy adminis-

tering the laws. Delaware was first settled by the Swedes, in 1638. They were dispossessed by the Dutch, who in turn yielded to the English.

MARYLAND

ST. MARY'S, 1634

115. Lord Baltimore and His Liberal Grant.—Maryland was another colony whose settlement was occasioned by religious persecution. In its earlier days the Church of England persecuted all who did not conform to its tenets, Catholics, as well as Puritans. Sir George Calvert, known also as Lord Baltimore, having become a Catholic, secured a charter from the king to plant a colony in America. His grant was from the fortieth parallel to the Potomac, the western boundary being a line directly north to that parallel from the source of that river. Before a colony could be sent, Lord Baltimore died. His son, Cecil Calvert, carried out his plans. The charter granted the Calverts was the most liberal ever issued by an English monarch. It made the proprietor absolute ruler over the colony, requiring only that once a year he should send two Indian arrows to the king in token of his allegiance; also a third of the gold and silver discovered. If it were the intention at first to exclude all but Catholics, this idea was abandoned even before the first colony was sent out, the two ships containing both Protestants and Catholics.

116. Settlement—Claiborne's Opposition.—The name of Maryland was given to the new colony in honor of the Queen, Henrietta Maria, and the first settlement, called St. Mary's, was begun in 1634, the location on the Potomac being purchased from the Indians. Maryland's early history was closely connected with that of Virginia, the occupations of the people of both colonies being much the same, and both feeling the necessity for maintaining a united front against the Indians. The settling at St. Mary's caused immediate and serious trouble. A Vir-

ginia planter by the name of Claiborne claimed all this section and was able to offer most determined opposition. He was at last expelled, though not before some blood had been shed and much bad feeling engendered. A number of years later the controversy was renewed, and being taken on appeal to the king, was decided by him in favor of the colonists. Despite these troubles and those engendered by religious differences, Maryland was always a prosperous colony.

117. Religious Troubles—Toleration Acts.—The student of to-day cannot appreciate the tenacity with which the fathers held to their religious beliefs and their readiness at all times to engage in combat, mental or physical in their defence. It was a time of first growth—not so much attention given to beauty of form as to deep rooting in a nourishing soil. This soil was found in the New World, and it seemed alike rich to all faiths—though opposed to each other. Maryland presented a strange anomaly in that age of the world,—the Catholic and the Protestant working side by side, and in seeming harmony. This was largely due to the fact that the source of their persecution was the same—the Church of England. They yielded to that “fellow feeling in misery,” which sometimes makes the “whole world kin,” and for the time being were friends. However, disputes over religion soon began, and much difficulty was found in satisfying both Protestants and Catholics.

In 1649 a “Toleration Act” was passed by the Assembly as a compromise between the two parties. This was respected for some time, but after 1691, when the colony became a royal province, the Catholics were given scant justice. Later Maryland became a proprietary colony and thus remained until the Revolution.

THE CAROLINAS

ALBEMARLE, 1653, AND CHARLESTON, 1670

118. Carolina Grant.—The stretch of coast comprised in the two Carolinas and Georgia had a very unfortunate early

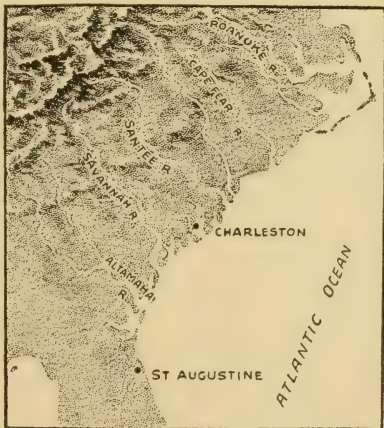
history. It was the scene of DeAllyon's San Miguel disaster, of Ribaut's Port Royal failure, of the several Raleigh attempts, ending with the complete disappearance of the "lost colony." Grants were made of it to several parties, but not till after the middle of the seventeenth century was any permanent settlement made. In 1663 Charles II. gave it to eight of his personal friends, Lord Clarendon being one of them. They immediately proceeded to employ a philosopher of the day, John Locke, to draft an elaborate scheme of government. The chief point of interest in this plan was the attempt to revivify the now obsolete feudal system. There were to be barons and vassals and fiefs and holdings; in fact, the world was to be set back a half cycle of centuries. But it was not to be. The spirit that prompted the human heart to rebel against the tyranny of the time at home laughed this child of feudalism out of countenance. The colonists would have none of it; and it is creditable in the highest degree to these home builders in the south that John Locke's "Model," as the scheme was called, did not have even a chance of success.

119. Albemarle Colony—"Poor Whites."—The first colonists were sent over in 1665. They found that a settlement had already been made (1653) by people from Virginia, among whom were many Quakers, who had been driven out of the other colonies. In fact, many people in the northern part of the grant were found who were known as "poor whites." These were hunters and trappers, of a roving disposition. As a class they were shiftless to a degree. There were among them some of better mold, however, who became the progenitors of that free and liberty loving element which still inhabits the Blue Ridge country, and of which Abraham Lincoln is said to be a product.

120. The Carteret Colony—Charleston.—Five years after the Albemarle colony was established, another was sent out, called the Carteret colony. A settlement was made by this colony on the Ashley river at first, but later a

better location was found on the present site of Charleston. This colony flourished from the beginning. Large numbers of the Dutch as well as of the persecuted Huguenots from France, flocked to the settlement. This latter element came in great numbers, forming whole streets in the town. They were a people of gentle and refined manners; of good education,—and, like the Boston colony, set up in the new world all the institutions they were accustomed to in the old.

121. Separation.—The separation of Carolina into two distinct colonies was determined from the first by the character of the people in the different settlements. Topography has much to do with occupations; and it is also true that the occupations of a people determine to a large extent their general characteristics. Hunters, trappers, and small farmers found the soil and climate of the northern part of Carolina better suited to their pursuits; while the warmer climate, and the lowlands of the southern portion, attracted the large planters. The former gathered in communities and led lives much after the fashion of the Massachusetts Puritans; the latter became large slave owners, and lived in lordly elegance on great plantations; or, maintained princely homes in Charleston, or in other town settlements. Thus grew up side by side two civilizations, more or less distinct. The independent spirit maintained by the colonists, in the northern portion particularly, caused the proprietors so much trouble that in 1729 they sold their interest to the



government. The division was then made into North and South Carolina and they remained royal provinces until merged into the Republic.

122. Indian Troubles.—On the western slopes of the Blue Ridge and in the contiguous river valleys, lived the Tuscaroras, a branch of the fierce Iroquois of the north. These Indians became restive under the advance of civilization; and, as time passed, the outlying settlements began to suffer from their incursions. The colonists finally rallied after an attempted massacre in 1711, and the following year inflicted a severe defeat on this tribe at the battle of Neuse. Again in 1712 the Indians were defeated and eight hundred taken prisoners. This defeat had such a dispiriting effect, that, in 1715, the remnant of the tribe joined their clansmen in the north and became the “sixth” nation of the noted Iroquois Confederacy.

GEORGIA

SAVANNAH, 1733

123. Oglethorpe and His Wards.—Maryland was the only southern colony into whose settlement the idea of religion entered. Philanthropy, coupled with a military idea, brought about the settlement of Georgia. The wretched condition of the debtor class of England began to touch the hearts of philanthropists in the early part of the eighteenth century. The prisons were overflowing with people—many of them of worthy character; but who, unfortunately, could not keep out of debt. James Oglethorpe, a kind-hearted officer in the British army and a member of the English parliament, conceived the idea of relieving this distress, and at the same time of providing for his country a post of defence against the Spaniards on the south. He was given by George II. a grant from the Savannah river to the Altamaha to be held in trust for the poor. The region was named Georgia in honor of the king. The first settlement was made at the mouth of the Savannah River in 1733. A fort was erected to carry

out the idea of defence. During the first years of the colony prosperity seemed assured, but owing to adverse circumstances its subsequent history was one of much discord and trouble.

124. Spaniards and Indians.—Hardly had the colony been well started, before war was declared between England and Spain, giving Governor Oglethorpe an opportunity to test some of his military ideas. He took the initiative and besieged the Spaniards at St. Augustine, but was compelled to retire before anything was accomplished. The Spaniards in their turn attacked the exposed outposts of the English, but were repulsed. This ended the Spaniard's dream of dominion on the coast of North America. But for years the Spaniards were a source of great annoyance to the Georgians by reason of their constant stirring up of the Indians along the border. Not until the Indian had felt the iron hand of General Andrew Jackson, and Florida had become a part of the United States, did Georgia cease to be troubled from these sources.

125. The Wesleys.—The founders of Methodism, John and Charles Wesley, became interested in the Georgian colony very early in its history. Both came to the colony in 1735, Charles returning, after a year's service as private secretary to the governor. John Wesley remained for three years and laid the foundation of Methodism in the New World.

126. The Colony a Disappointment.—After twenty years of earnest effort to serve humanity, James Oglethorpe returned his charter to the king. The class of people whose condition he had sought to ameliorate was far from suitable material out of which to build a state. Many refused his philanthropy outright, and a large part of those who did come were so shiftless that they were a constant burden on the colony. Had it not been for the sturdy German Lutherans and Scotch Highlanders, and a few Huguenots from France and South Carolina, this attempt at colonization would have proved an utter failure.

CHAPTER V

THE BATTLE FOR SUPREMACY

THE FOUR INTERCOLONIAL WARS

KING WILLIAM'S, 1689-1697.

QUEEN ANNE'S, 1702-1713.

KING GEORGE'S, 1744-1748.

FRENCH AND INDIAN, 1754-1763.

127. The French and English in America.—The colonial policy of France had resulted in building up a line of military posts for the protection of the trader and of



BEGINNING OF THE BATTLE FOR SUPREMACY

the missionary. The Englishman, on the other hand, was a home builder. He subdued the wilderness with the ax and torch and wrung from it the wherewithal to satisfy his needs. The French trapper followed his quarry deeper and deeper into the forest; the missionary wandered from

tribe to tribe, farther and farther away from civilization. The Englishman clung to the seaboard, and for over a century the rich soil of the Atlantic coast plain sufficed for his agricultural tastes. The Frenchman, entering the continent through the ice-floes of the north, had pushed his way west to the sunny climes of the south. The very year that William Penn crossed the ocean to begin his "holy experiment," the incomparable La Salle unfurled the lilies of France at the mouth of the Mississippi and completed the crescent that bound the English to the coast. But as the years passed, the Anglo-Saxon, lured by the richer agricultural regions of the west, broke over nature's mountain barrier and pushed the contest into the territory claimed by the Latin. Thenceforth war was inevitable.

128. Indian Policies Contrasted.—The French had won the friendship of the Indian to a greater extent than had the English. Not that the Frenchman was kindlier by nature than the Briton; he was not. But the latter came to the New World to build a home. In the building he destroyed the Indian's hunting ground, and thus left him impoverished. On the other hand, the Frenchman left the Indian unmolested. Commercially, it was to the Frenchman's interest to leave the forest and stream as he found them, asking but a spot upon which to build his cabin. Again, the Englishman bought his land of the Indian in immense tracts by treaty, or in small farms, by direct purchase. It meant in either case the absolute transfer of the land, together with all rights and privileges. This the Indian mind could not fathom. He could understand the granting of hunting privileges for certain "moons," but it ended there. He never contemplated the absolute transfer of the land itself, but a simple sharing, or giving up for a season of the hunting or planting privileges. This view not interfering with the French commercial idea, or rather there being no reason for a purchase of the land, the Latin was comparatively free from the strife to which the Anglo-Saxon fell heir in such abundance.

KING WILLIAM'S WAR

129. Cause—Parties Engaged.—At the close of the seventeenth century a spirited contest was in progress between the French and the English both in Europe and in America. The contest began in Europe. James II. succeeded to the English throne on the death of his brother, Charles II. His conduct was so outrageously against English interests, that the English rose in rebellion and drove him from the country. The French king welcomed him to his court and thus gave cause for war, which was declared in 1689 by King William III., whom an act of parliament had placed upon the throne. As soon as England and France began fighting, the colonists in America took up the quarrel and a struggle began for the possession of Acadia and New France.

130. Port Royal Expedition.—During the eight years of this war most of the action took place on the frontiers of the



ACADIA

respective parties. The French held Port Royal on the coast of Acadia. This being a constant menace to the colonies, and especially to Massachusetts, an expedition against it was organized under the leadership of Sir William Phipps. He set out with eighteen hundred New England

troops, and such was the spirit displayed by leader and men that both Port Royal and Acadia fell an easy prey into their hands. A later naval attack on Quebec resulted in most disastrous failure.

131. Frontenac and Indian Atrocities.—For the conduct of the war in America, the king of France sent Count Frontenac,—in many respects a remarkable man, though lacking

in a spirit of humanity. He at once formed an alliance with the Algonkin tribes and made a strong effort to conciliate the Iroquois, whom Champlain had offended, but the traditions of nearly a century were stronger than any argument Frontenac could bring to bear, and the Iroquois remained faithful to the English. Frontenac carried the hardships of the war into the territory of the Iroquois with such severity as to force from them a treaty of peace. He kept the English frontiers in a constant state of terror by sending out marauding bands of his Indian allies, who committed the most terrible atrocities.

132. Peace: Results.—The war closed with a treaty made at Ryswick, Holland. Each nation retained the same territory which it had held in the beginning. The chief result in the colonies was the spirit of confidence it planted in the New Englander's breast—he had waged successful warfare with the French regular at Port Royal. It also awakened that feeling of dependence upon one another, which, fostered by the succeeding colonial wars, culminated in complete organization in the trying days of the Revolution.

QUEEN ANNE'S WAR

133. Cause—Parties Engaged.—Only five years of peace had been enjoyed by the colonists in America, when they were once more drawn into war by the opening of the great War of the Spanish Succession in Europe, a war in which France and England again took opposite sides. This time the French and Spanish colonies made common cause against the English colonies; who were therefore beset from all sides.

134. The War in the North.—Though Port Royal had been captured in the last war by the colonists, its return to the French at the close, again made it a convenient rendezvous for privateering expeditions down the coast. Two unsuccessful attempts were made against it. Finally, in 1710, a combined English and colonial army forced its surrender. A similarly disastrous attempt to that made on

Quebec in the previous war left that stronghold to guard French dominion in the north, the English suffering the loss of many ships in a storm, with over one thousand men.

135. The War in the South.—The southern colonists welcomed the opportunity to chastise the Spanish on the Florida coast, and in the very first year of the war attacked St. Augustine. They had reckoned without their host, however. The Spanish offered such spirited resistance that the siege was abandoned. A combined French and Spanish fleet attempted the capture of Charleston, South Carolina, in 1706, but were in turn repulsed, so that honors were equal in the south.

136. Indian Atrocities.—As usual, the outlying settlements felt the horrors of war the most. With the French forts about the Great Lakes for rallying points, and their overflowing arsenals on which to draw, the Indians ravaged the frontier from Virginia to Maine,—the wholesale massacres at Deerfield and Haverhill being carried out with the most fiendish cruelties.

137. Peace: Results.—The treaty of Utrecht (1713) ended the war, and for many years peace and prosperity reigned in America. The treaty provided for the retention of Port Royal by the English. In honor of Queen Anne its name was changed to Annapolis. Acadia, or Nova Scotia, was now retained by England. The treaty also gave to England Newfoundland and the Hudson Bay territories, leaving Canada and the Mississippi valley still to be fought for.

The feeling of interdependence received fresh stimulus among the colonists. The first war had held the interest only of the New England colonies. This second war had united both southern and northern colonies in a common cause.

KING GEORGE'S WAR

138. French Fortification.—For thirty years after the treaty of Utrecht there was no fighting between the French and English in America. The French spent this time in build-

ing a chain of forts which should enable them to hold the Mississippi valley and New France against the English. These forts stretched from the mouth of the Mississippi to Detroit and thence along the lakes to Lake Champlain and



Montreal. The French were also anxious to reconquer the territory lost by the treaty of Utrecht; so they built and fortified at great expense a point on Cape Breton called Louisburg.

139. War Declared.—In 1744 war again broke out between France and England. This was known in the colonies as “King George’s War,” and gave the English colonists an opportunity to attempt the capture of Louisburg, which was now the strongest French fort in America except Quebec, and which threatened the English possessions in Nova Scotia. This was accomplished by a colonial force, four thousand strong, under General Pepperel of Maine, assisted by four British warships.

140. Treaty.—The treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle (1748) brought peace after four years, though it was but a short time until the two combatants were again active. The stronghold of Louisburg was returned to the French, in exchange for the military post of Madras in Hindustan; a piece of war politics which greatly incensed the colonists, who had been at such expense to capture that stronghold. The king, however, paid back the money they had expended.

to the Ohio. The French now began military occupation of the valley and in addition to strengthening the forts already built, established a third line from Lake Erie down the course of the Allegheny river to the present site of Pittsburgh.

142. Washington in Virginia's Service.—This action called for war, or a disavowal. Virginia had always claimed the territory by the reading of her charter, "west and northwest," and now took the initiative. George Washington was at this time adjutant-general of the Virginia militia. He was only twenty-one years of age, but had shown even thus early the qualities which afterward made him the great champion of his country's rights. He was commissioned to proceed to the nearest French fort and make formal demand for the withdrawal of the French troops from all that region. With seven companions, Washington accomplished this mission creditably, traveling over five hundred miles through a dense wilderness and returning in the dead of winter. He advised the immediate building of a fort at the confluence of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, and the governor sent a company of men to carry out this idea, Washington following with a military force sufficient to hold the fort when constructed. But the French had determined on fortifying this same point. They accordingly pushed rapidly south, and driving off the English vanguard before Washington could arrive, threw up fortifications which they called Fort Duquesne, and with that as a base advanced to meet the English. The death of his superior on the march from Virginia put Washington in full command of the expedition. In true Indian fashion he pushed rapidly to the front, ambuscaded the advance party of French, and drove them back with loss. He then selected a position and threw up rude fortifications which he called Fort Necessity. Here he was attacked by a combined force of French and Indians, who so outnumbered him that he was forced to capitulate.

143. The Albany Convention.—While Washington was thus engaged in the effort to uphold English supremacy, there met at Albany a body of delegates from all the colonies north of Virginia. This was the famous Albany convention, called at the suggestion of the Lords of Trade in London, for the purpose of treaty with the Iroquois. While it was in session Benjamin Franklin proposed, and the convention adopted, his “plan for colonial union”—an action which marked a great forward step in the march toward a republic. This plan provided for a president-general, and a council of delegates from each colony, who should have control over Indian affairs, and have power to raise and equip armies and raise taxes to pay for the same. This plan was submitted to the colonies and to the king, but was rejected by each for the same reason—it gave too much power to the other party. It was at this time that Franklin’s account of the battle of Fort Necessity appeared in his newspaper, published in Philadelphia, headed by the illustration of a broken snake, under which was the legend, “Join or die.”

144. Proposed Outline of Attack.—The topography of the country and the situation of the French military posts clearly indicated three points of attack,—Fort Duquesne and north to the lakes; Fort Ticonderoga on Lake Champlain, thence to Quebec; Acadia and Louisburg on the northern coast. These points were persistently attacked until each in turn yielded.

145. Defeat of Braddock.—After Washington’s misfortune at Fort Necessity, preparations were immediately begun for another expedition to the Ohio valley. The king sent over a body of regulars under General Braddock, and early in 1755 he marched on Fort Duquesne with an army of two thousand two hundred men. Braddock was brave but conceited, and densely ignorant of frontier warfare. He declined the advice of Washington, or any of the colonial officers, and marched leisurely through the forest as if on a holiday excursion. French spies reported this, and though greatly infe-

146. The Acadians.—Many an act is looked upon as just in war which would be indefensible in peace. The removal of the Acadians from their homes in 1756 was such an act. Acadia comprised territory now covered chiefly by Nova Scotia. It changed hands according to the fortunes of war several times, but the French peasantry who inhabited it remained loyal to their sovereign. They had been under English rule since the fall of Port Royal in 1710, but had been allowed as great a degree of liberty, probably, as would have been accorded them by the French king. It is charged they abused this liberty by aiding the French during King George's War and in the present one. It was therefore proposed as a war measure to remove them from the region entirely. This was accomplished by an English force, who not only destroyed their homes, but drove them on board ship and distributed them among the English settlements—in many instances whole families being cruelly separated, beyond the hope or possibility of ever being reunited. The poet Longfellow has made this war incident the basis of his beautiful poem, "Evangeline."

147. Louisburg.—This stronghold again became the bone of contention in the north. An expedition was organized against it in 1757, but after reaching the fort the attempt was abandoned, General Loudon refusing to attack. The next year, with a force of ten thousand men and forty-one ships, the English succeeded in capturing the fortress. This time it was dismantled and Halifax was made the English point of rendezvous on the northern coast.

148. Pitt and English Success.—On the part of the English the first three years of the war were marked with incompetency, both in the War Department at home and in the active operations on the field by the generals in charge. But a change in government brought William Pitt to the ministry. He immediately caused a change of policy, not only in the character of the men sent out, but in the treatment of the officers and men of the colonial forces. Here-

tofore but scant recognition had been given to provincial officers, no matter of how great merit. The colonial officers were now taken into consultation, and the men treated as regulars of the army.

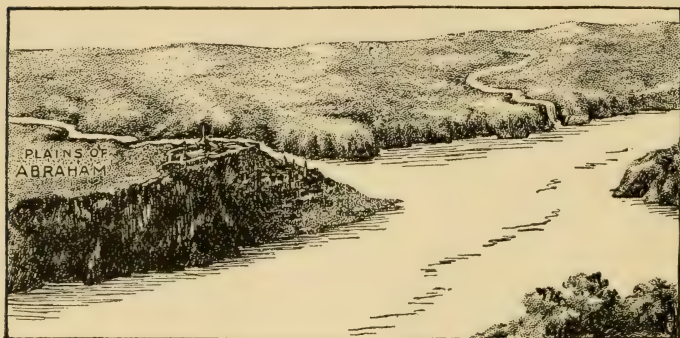
149. Contest for Supremacy in the Lake Country.—At the beginning of the war the French were masters of the Great Lakes and of Lake Champlain. At the head of Champlain were the strong forts of Ticonderoga and Crown Point. In 1755 the English marched against Crown Point. The French commander left the fort and advanced south to Lake George. In the engagement the English were the victors, but failed to follow up their advantage. They retired and built Fort William Henry at the head of Lake George. In 1757 the French general, Montcalm, captured this fort, the surrender being followed by an Indian massacre of unspeakable cruelty.

In 1758 the English and colonial army under Abercrombie made a determined effort to wrest this region from the French, but Abercrombie proved incompetent and his attack on Ticonderoga was repulsed with great loss. The colonial general, Bradstreet, soon after captured Fort Frontenac on Lake Ontario and with it supplies intended for Fort Duquesne, the loss of which had much to do with the abandonment of that post on the approach of an English force under General Forbes and Washington, who, on taking possession, changed its name to Fort Pitt—the Pittsburgh of to-day. The following year the whole lake country was secured to the English by the surrender of Niagara after an extended siege, and the abandonment by the French of Ticonderoga on the approach of a formidable English force.

150. The Taking of Quebec—Wolfe—Montcalm.—The year 1759 was one made memorable in English colonial history by the almost complete overthrow of the French. The north-west was freed by the gallant work of Shirley at Fort Niagara, and Lakes George and Champlain saw the last of the Frenchman as he retired before the advancing hosts of

Amherst. Both generals and their armies were to have joined Wolfe at the crowning event of the year—the taking of Quebec—but they were too slow, and did not arrive in time.

Quebec was a fortress of great strength, situated on a high bluff commanding the river. It was defended by sixteen thousand men under General Montcalm, one of the most competent of French generals, and of large fighting expe-



QUEBEC

rience. In June, General Wolfe sailed up the St. Lawrence with four thousand men. He found the river obstructed as he neared Quebec and that city thoroughly prepared for attack. Wolfe was but thirty-three years of age and not in robust health, but he had shown fine qualities of generalship at the taking of Louisburg, and Pitt had confidence in his success. One by one the obstructions were cleared, and by the middle of the summer the lower part of the city and everything but the fort was at the mercy of the English. The fort seemed impregnable and Wolfe was in despair, for Montcalm could not be induced to give battle outside.

The Plains of Abraham lay back of the fort on the heights. Could Wolfe but reach there the French would have to give battle. But for miles the banks of the river rose in precip-

itous bluffs, the summits of which were bristling with cannon. Finally a path was discovered leading to the heights, and Wolfe resolved on taking the desperate chance of scaling the bluffs. Sailing up the river at dark, to mislead the enemy, he embarked his army in small boats and dropping quietly back with the ebb tide, began the ascent. It proved arduous in the extreme, but the dawn found enough of his men on the heights to hold the position, and, with the rapidly arriving reinforcements, Wolfe soon found himself in command of three thousand five hundred picked men, eager for battle. Montcalm was not slow to see his peril. His army outnumbered that of Wolfe, but many were raw recruits. A bayonet charge was ordered. It was made with spirit, but the English met it with a murderous fire at close range, and then as the enemy wavered, they in turn used the bayonet. Soon the French were in headlong retreat, and the day was won. Both generals were mortally wounded in the fight. Rousing from his lethargy, Wolfe was told of the retreat of the French. "God be praised, I die happy," cried the young general as he expired. Montcalm expressed relief that he should not live to see the fall of Quebec, which the English took five days later.

151. The Passing of the French from America.—Quebec was the focus upon which all French hopes of success centered in the New World. It is true that a vast amount of territory yet remained, and a determined effort was made to hold Montreal the next year, when it was besieged by the English under General Amherst; but, deserted by his Indian allies, and being all but abandoned by the home government, the French commander capitulated. Thus the whole region came under English control, and French dominion in America was ended. During the latter part of the war, Spain had become involved and England had seized Havana and the Philippines.

In the treaty of peace signed at Paris, (1763) France lost power in America. At the end of the war, the vast colonial

empire of New France—the richest possession in the New World—had dwindled to two small islands off the coast of Newfoundland—which the parent country was permitted to retain as fishing stations.

France surrendered Canada to England, and with the Mississippi river as a dividing line, yielded to her hated



AMERICA AT THE CLOSE OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR

rival all the territory east of that line—excepting the city of New Orleans and its adjacent territory.

For assisting France in this war, Spain received New Orleans and all the territory west of the Mississippi.

Spain, rather than lose Havana to the English, gave England Florida instead.

At the time of the signing of the treaty the news of the capture of the Philippines had not been received in Europe. On learning of the capture, England returned those islands to Spain without consideration.

152. England and the Result.—Thus east of the Mississippi England was supreme. The war of defence had ended in a war of conquest. She had wrested a vast territory from both Spain and France—indeed, had driven the latter from

the New World. England had not been altogether blameless in this war, and through the folly of George III. and his new ministry (Pitt had resigned) was soon to receive her punishment, and from a source whence she least expected it—her own American colonies. It has been said that the complete triumph of England over France in the New World, made the American Revolution not only possible, but inevitable. Vergennes, the great French statesman, saw this at the time of the signing of the treaty in 1763, when he sagely remarked, “In winning Canada England has removed the only check which has served to keep her American colonies in awe.”

153. The Colonies and the Result.—The change of hands of a vast domain was the tangible result of the war, but more important were the lessons learned, and the experience gained by the colonists. The French war acted as a training school for the American officers, Washington and many others having gained valuable experience and measured brain and brawn with soldiers of lifelong experience. It also furnished an opportunity for the better acquaintance of the colonists. Boston was farther from New York then than is San Francisco now in point of time. There was little travel in those days, and the traditions of a century clung to each colony. This “drinking from the same canteen” proved a powerful force in drawing the members of different colonies closer together.

154. The Indian and the War.—In the war the Iroquois had assisted the English, while the Algonkin tribes, the Hurons of Canada, and the Indians between the Great Lakes and the Ohio, had assisted the French. During the war, and for many years after, these allies of the French kept the English frontier settlements in a state of terror. Immediately after the close of the war, Pontiac, a powerful Indian chief, prevailed upon a large number of tribes to enter into a conspiracy, the avowed purpose of which was the wholesale massacre of the outlying English posts and settlements.

Though Detroit, in 1762, withstood a siege of five months, still, out of the twelve posts attacked, eight were taken and many English in the Ohio valley murdered. The savages were moving eastward into Pennsylvania, when they were met (1763) at Bushy Run, near Pittsburgh, by an English force from Philadelphia, which routed them after one of the most bloody battles ever fought with the Indians. In 1766 a treaty of peace was negotiated with Pontiac at Oswego, New York. Three years later this powerful Ottawa chief, who hated the English and loved the French, was assassinated by an Indian bribed to commit the deed.

155. George III. and the War.—The Seven Years' War in America had been brought to a successful close during the reign of George II., under the powerful Pitt ministry. Upon the king's death, George III. came into power (1760) and in the following year Pitt, who was out of harmony with the new order of things, resigned. It was unfortunate for the colonies and for England that a ruler of his narrow and obstinate type should have come into power just as the new expansion policy of the island kingdom had made it one of the greatest empires in the world. To formulate a fair and just colonial government for these new possessions and retain the respect of the old colonies, was a problem far beyond his mean abilities. He attempted to interfere with freedom of speech, and curtailed the liberty of the press. By his stupidity and shortsighted policy of administration in the colonies he brought down upon his head the just censure of many of the wisest of England's statesmen. The arbitrary financial policy which he adopted toward the American colonies made him one of the most despised rulers the colonies had ever known. His name was coupled in the colonial mind with the beheaded Charles I., and the banished James II. With Grenville, and later with Lord North as his chief advisers, the king and his ministry soon fulfilled the prediction of the French statesman and precipitated the American Revolution. He was king of England for sixty years, dying

in 1820. His one redeeming characteristic lies in the fact that he was a devoted Christian and was pure and happy in his domestic life.

156. Expansion Calls for New Government and Additional Expenses.—The boundaries of the thirteen colonies were in the main, except as to their western limit, fairly well defined; but England now came into possession of a territory which to retain she must prepare to defend against possible attacks from both France and Spain. This called for immediate action. Accordingly, in 1763 a proclamation was issued by the king, by which a small portion of the territory of Florida was annexed to Georgia, and the remainder divided into the two provinces of East and West Florida. As a third province, the king established the boundaries of Quebec, situated on both sides of the St. Lawrence River and extending southward as far as New York. These three provinces established, the proclamation then proceeded to give an exhibition of King George's shortsighted policy. This was in the fixing of "the proclamation line" on the crest of the Alleghany mountains. Starting in East Florida, it extended northward to Lake Champlain, following the headwaters of all the intervening streams, whose waters emptied into the Atlantic Ocean. All the territory extending west of this line to the Mississippi, and from the Great Lakes to the Floridas, was set apart as Indian country, within the boundaries of which the colonists were forbidden to settle. The establishment of this proclamation line justly incensed the colonists. The attempt to shut them out of the very territory for which they had fought, and portions of which many of the colonies claimed by charter, provoked ill feeling at once. But the King George ministry did not stop at this. To garrison the many forts needed to defend this territory required ten thousand soldiers, and it was necessary to raise funds to support them. This it was proposed to do both from Englishmen at home and Englishmen in the colonies. The latter were now to suffer a revival of the hated navigation laws,

which had always been held in such contempt,—particularly in New England, where smuggling had been carried on for years. It was now proposed to punish, without grant of trial by jury, anyone suspected of violation of the navigation laws. This abolishing the right of trial by jury again incensed the colonists.

New England had built up a large trade with the West Indies in sugar and molasses. A tax was therefore levied on those commodities. This did not provide enough money, so a stamp tax was proposed. Thus the King George ministry began that unwise policy which precipitated the Revolution.

CHAPTER VI

THE COLONIES

157. Development of the Colonies.—At the close of the French and Indian War, the thirteen English colonies had assumed such importance, as to now rank as the richest of England's possessions. They had increased rapidly in population, and had already exhibited some distinctive features of their later national life; as is shown in a study of their social life, their occupations, their education, their literature, their attitude on the question of slavery, their political life, and their disposition at all times to assert their rights as free men.

POPULATION

158. Population in the Colonies.—In the early history of the colonies there was a superstition against numbering the people, many thinking that diseases in the form of epidemics would follow the taking of a census. However, the colonial governors from time to time made estimates to the home government, which are believed to be nearly correct. Three of these estimates follow: First, that of 1701, at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign; another in 1755, at the beginning of the French and Indian War; and the third in 1775, at the beginning of the Revolutionary War, covering in all a period of three-quarters of a century.

CENSUS ESTIMATES

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES	DATE OF SETTLEMENT	1701	1755	1775
NEW ENGLAND COLONIES:				
New Hampshire.	1623	10,000	34,000	81,000
Massachusetts.....	1620	70,000	200,000	335,000
Connecticut.....	1635	30,000	130,000	201,000
Rhode Island.....	1636	10,000	40,000	61,000
Total, including 14,000 African slaves.....				678,000
MIDDLE COLONIES:				
New York.....	1613	30,000	95,000	188,000
New Jersey.....	1665	15,000	83,000	124,000
Pennsylvania.....	1682	20,000	182,000	302,000
Delaware.....	1638			
Total, including 32,000 African slaves.....				614,000
SOUTHERN COLONIES:				
Maryland.....	1634	25,000	156,000	241,000
Virginia.....	1607	40,000	280,000	525,000
North Carolina.....	1653	5,000	104,000	275,000
South Carolina.....	1670	7,000	82,000	187,000
Georgia.....	1733	.....	6,000	40,000
Total, including 455,000 African slaves.....				1,268,000
Total.....		262,000	1,392,000	2,560,000
This includes African slaves,		50,000	260,000	501,000

In this table, the population of Pennsylvania and Delaware is counted together as Delaware did not have a separate organization until after the Revolution.

159. Distribution of Population.—The above table shows that one-half of the whole population of the thirteen English colonies was in the southern colonies, while the New England and middle colonies combined contained the other half. During the period from 1700 to 1775 the population had increased in

New Hampshireeightfold
Massachusettsfivefold
Connecticutsevenfold

Rhode Island.....	sixfold
New York.....	sixfold
New Jersey.....	eightfold
Pennsylvania and Delaware.....	fifteenfold
Maryland.....	tenfold
Virginia.....	thirteenfold
North Carolina.....	fifty-fivefold
South Carolina.....	seventeenfold

while Georgia, the last of the colonies to be settled, had increased her population from 1755 to 1775, sevenfold. Thus it will be seen that all the colonies were growing at a rapid rate. Their total population at the time of the Revolution equaled one-fifth that of the mother country. Virginia stood at the head of the census, with Massachusetts second.

The settlements in the colonies were usually located on some bay or arm of the sea, along the courses of navigable streams, or in the rich valleys of the hill country. Often they were scattered far apart, with but poor means of communication.

160. The Cities.—According to the census of 1900, fully one-third of the entire population of the United States is living in cities, as opposed to one-thirtieth in 1790. A much smaller proportion lived in cities at the time of the making of the above census estimates. The population of the five principal cities in 1790 was:

New York.....	33,131
Philadelphia.....	28,522
Boston.....	18,038
Charleston.....	16,359
Baltimore.....	13,503

At that time there were but thirteen cities in the colonies with more than five thousand inhabitants. This tells the story that the English colonists were largely engaged in agricultural pursuits. The name "colonial farmers," given to the soldiers of the patriot army of the Revolution, was not

misapplied. In the north the town constituted the unit of political organization; in the south, the county. Towns were the more numerous in the north. And yet, scattered throughout the colonies were many thriving villages and towns, which constituted the business and social centers in numerous settlements from New Hampshire to Georgia. In estimating the population of colonial cities it was the custom to count the number of houses and arrive at the total population by multiplying that number by seven.

New York had become the trade center—her merchants supplying about one-sixth of the entire population of the colonies with goods imported from foreign countries. Williamsburg, Va., was one of the most stylish places on the continent; Charleston, S. C., the gayest, and Annapolis, Md., excelled all others in elegance. Philadelphia, the largest city in the colonies, was noted for its regular streets and splendid sidewalks, and for its brick and stone residences. This city was the first to light its streets. New York soon followed. Boston did not light her streets until 1773. Each of these cities found it necessary to establish a night police force in order to preserve order within its limits.

161. People not All English.—While these colonies are known as the English colonies, still it must not be concluded that the entire population was an English population.

THE WELSH had come with the English, and had formed many thriving settlements in New England, and also in the middle colonies. Roger Williams, the founder of Rhode Island, was a Welshman, and William Penn made a grant of forty thousand acres, known as the Welsh Barony, to a colony from Wales.

THE DUTCH had early occupied New York, and had soon established a line of settlements northward along the course of the Hudson, thence up the Mohawk Valley, and southward across New Jersey to the mouth of the Delaware, where as early as 1655 they had conquered the Swedish settlements in that region. The Dutch had also extended their trading-

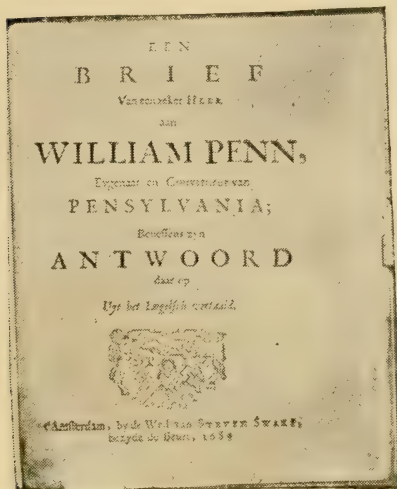
posts to the Connecticut Valley, and up Long Island Sound as far as Narragansett Bay. When the English appeared in New York harbor in 1664, the Dutch yielded to English rule without a struggle. Absorbed in trade and indifferent to politics, they soon transferred their allegiance to the English king, and became loyal citizens of the colonies in which they continued to reside. At the time of the Revolution it is estimated that at least one-half the population of the state of New York was of Dutch descent. New Jersey, likewise, had a large Dutch population. To-day many families of New York are proud to trace their ancestry to these early Dutch settlers. Since the day of the publication of Washington Irving's "Knickerbocker's History of New York," these Dutch descendants in New York have been known as Knickerbockers.

These Hollanders were an industrious people, active in the development of trade and commerce, and devoted to agriculture. Many historians have been bold to trace the ideas of our free school system, freedom of worship in matters of religion, the recording of land deeds by the state, and the use of the ballot in popular elections, to the influence and example of these early Dutch settlers.

THE SWEDES,—always a liberty-loving and enterprising people,—on the advice of their king, the great Gustavus Adolphus, had settled New Sweden (Delaware) in 1638. They rapidly increased in population until conquered by the Dutch (1655), who in turn yielded to the English (1664). These early Swedish settlers belonged to the farming and merchant class, and, like the Dutch, had come to America for purposes of trade. They thrived under Swedish rule, and so continued under Dutch rule, and later under the fostering care of William Penn. The Swedish language was spoken in the settlements of the Delaware Valley, even after the Revolution.

THE GERMANS, too, flocked to America. While the Dutch and Swedes came for purposes of trade, the Germans

came on account of the religious and commercial wars which were devastating the small states of Germany and ruining the German people. William Penn, anxious to secure this desirable class of colonists for Pennsylvania, made three visits to the German states for the purpose of encouraging the dissatisfied Germans to settle in his colony. As an immigration agent, Penn was very successful. It was estimated by Franklin in 1766 that the Germans constituted



DUTCH PAMPHLET OF WILLIAM PENN

one-third of the entire population of Pennsylvania. Germantown, a suburb of Philadelphia, was planted by the Germans. It is said that as many as twelve thousand Germans arrived in a single year. These people settled west and northwest of Philadelphia. Their descendants are still known as the "Pennsylvania Dutch." The Germans also settled in large numbers in the vicinity of Newburg, N. Y.; in Maryland;

in Virginia; in the Carolinas; and in Georgia. Like the Dutch, they were sober and industrious and indifferent to politics. They were true home builders and firm lovers of liberty. They were German Protestants, and in America desired nothing so much as to be left alone. They had an important influence on the development of manufactures in the colonies.

THE FRENCH.—The persecutions of the Huguenots (French Protestants) by the Catholics in France drove many of the Huguenots to seek homes in the English colonies. Many

of them settled in Virginia, in the Carolinas, in Massachusetts, and in New York. The Huguenots were farmers, merchants, and artisans. The artisan class of Huguenots greatly encouraged the development of manufactures in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and other cities. Paul Revere, of Revolutionary fame, and John Jay, first chief-justice of the United States, were descendants of these early Huguenot refugees, as was also Peter Faneuil, who gave to Boston, Faneuil Hall,—the “cradle of liberty.”

THE SCOTCH-IRISH, the name given in America to the immigrants from North Ireland, came in large numbers to America in the early part of the eighteenth century, settling in New Hampshire, and in other localities in New England and in New Jersey. However, the chief Scotch-Irish settlements were made in western and southwestern Pennsylvania, from which locality they pushed southward into the valley of the Shenandoah in Virginia, and into the hill country of the Carolinas. The Scotch-Irish were in the main Presbyterians, and were an intensely independent and liberty-loving people.

THE AMERICAN NATION.—The English, of course, made up the vast majority of the population in the thirteen original colonies, and were gradually changing these foreign communities into English-speaking peoples. When George III. came into power (1760) a new nation was already forming out of these various race elements which within the next quarter of a century was to take its place among the nations of the world—to be known henceforth as the American nation.



FANEUIL HALL

SOCIAL LIFE

162. Class Distinction.—There was an aristocratic feeling of a certain kind in nearly all the colonies, but this feeling was strongest in the southern colonies. In New York the old Dutch families and the rich English traders made up the aristocratic class; in Pennsylvania the Quakers held aloof from the Germans and the Scotch-Irish; the Puritan customs of New England made all classes nearly on a level, although even the so-called “upper class” was found there. The most distinct difference, however, was recognized in the south between the rich planters and the poorer class of small landholders.

This distinction of class was recognized in the churches, where the congregation was seated according to rank, and also in the colleges, where students were enrolled according to the rank of the parents. Washington belonged to the aristocratic class. He had his coat of arms engraved on his coach and harness—a custom which prevailed among the “gentlemen” of Virginia and in other of the southern colonies, and was not unknown in Boston, New York, and Philadelphia.



WASHINGTON'S COAT
OF ARMS

This class distinction has decreased with the years. It was stronger in colonial times than it is at the present day. Then the terms Mr., Mrs., and Miss were applied to ministers, their wives and daughters, and to persons of rank. The “common people” were addressed as “goodman” and “goodwife.” Whatever of social prejudice existed had been brought over from the old world. Each community from the beginning boasted of its “leading families”; this was particularly true in the south.

163. Dress.—Class distinction was recognized even in the dress of the colonists. This custom, too, had been brought over from Europe, and prevailed throughout the colonies.

As the period of the Revolution approached, Puritan customs had given way somewhat to the manners and customs of the Cavalier. The colonial gentleman of the period had his morning and his evening costume, and when he walked on the streets with his gold-headed cane, he enveloped himself in a handsome cloak, which glittered with gold lace. The silver snuffbox was always a sure sign of his social position—snuff being generally used by the aristocratic class in those days. Homespun goods made the ordinary clothing of the

middle and poorer classes. Maidservants wore short gowns of coarse material, and received but a miserable pittance for their yearly wages. The working class, the day-laborers, farmers, and mechanics, were also attired in clothing of the coarsest material, with leather breeches and heavy cowhide boots or shoes—all home-made. Calfskin shoes were used by



COSTUME OF CAVALIER



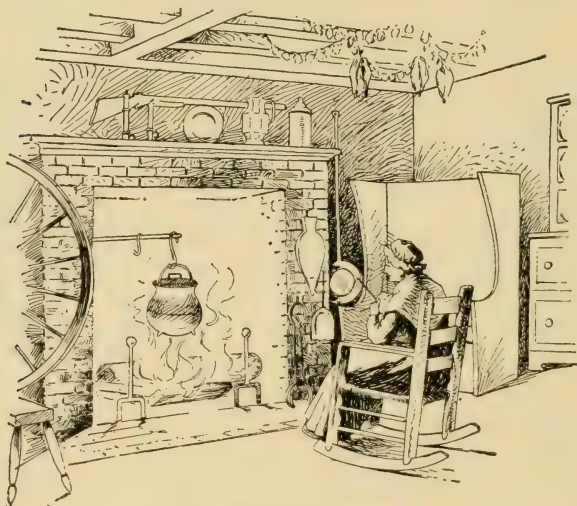
COSTUME OF PURITAN

the higher classes. This was the period when brass buckles and buttons were used to excess. On Sunday even the coarsest shoes were adorned with brass buckles, and the clothing of the aristocracy as well as the homespun attire of the other classes, was profusely decorated with brass or silver buttons.

This was also the day of wigs and outlandish headgear, as is shown in so many of the pictures of the time. The Puritan was no more a "roundhead"—a term by which he had been known in the days of Cromwell. The New Eng-

land Puritan, like the Cavalier of Virginia, now wore the most elaborate head dress. Indeed, it is said that in 1750 nearly everybody wore wigs—men, women, and children of all classes—except slaves and convicts; even paupers wore them.

164. Home Comforts: Food.—The wealthier class, both in the cities and in the country, lived in fine old colonial mansions, while the log cabins of the early colonial days still dotted the hills and valleys of the farming districts at the



NEW ENGLAND KITCHEN

time of the Revolution. In the south the slaves lived apart from their masters, often in the meanest of huts or shanties.

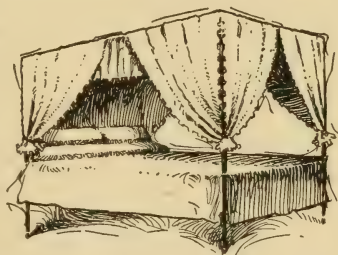
The kitchen with its wide fireplace was an important room in the dwellings of all classes. The term "New England kitchen" even to-day calls up pictures of plenty of room, abundance of provisions, and delightful home comforts.

The furniture in the homes was ordinarily of the simplest sort. However, the homes of the wealthier class in the

south, and indeed in all sections, were filled with the best of furniture—some of it imported from Europe, though much of it home-made and of the style now known as “colonial.”

Stoves were first introduced about 1700, and by the time of the Revolution had been greatly improved. Franklin invented a stove known as the Franklin stove, which was extensively used, though no dwelling was felt to be complete without its full number of fireplaces.

Though pewter was in common use and the rich had silverware, much of the tableware was still made of wood. About the year 1700 forks came into general use. Glass windows and paper-hangings were first used in dwellings about 1750. Potatoes came into general use as food about 1720. By the time of the Revolution tea and coffee had become popular, tea being used by nearly all classes. Bread made from



WASHINGTON'S BED

corn, wheat or rye, constituted the “staff of life.” The land abounding in wild game, much flesh was eaten.

165. Habits: Laws and Penalties.—Tobacco and liquor were used freely. Even some of the women used snuff, and not a few smoked. Drunkenness was common.

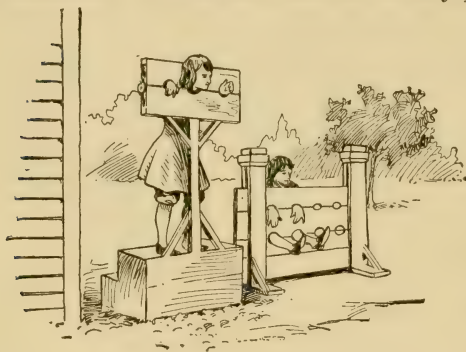
The people as a whole frowned upon all vicious and evil habits. Church attendance and private conduct were regulated by law. The “Blue Laws” of Connecticut were, in this particular, severe in the extreme.

The whipping post, the pillory, and the stocks awaited their victims at all times. Drunkenness, swearing, Sabbath breaking, pilfering, lying, stubborn disobedience of children, scolding, law-breaking, running in debt, and even dressing beyond one's station in life, were severely punished.

Penalties were frequently out of proportion to offenses committed. Punishments were, at times, extremely cruel,

even barbarous—a slave being burned for the murder of his master, and a wife for the murder of her husband. Cutting off an ear and branding on the forehead were penalties frequently inflicted.

Out of this stern and rugged life came a sturdy and a happy people, who were firm believers in right living and right doing. And yet, while the conduct of the people was regulated with reference to the teachings of the Bible, and while the standard of morals was high, many customs were practiced in the colonial period which would not now be tolerated. Lotteries, which are to-day placed under the ban



PILLORY AND STOCKS

of law in every state in the Union, were in that day recognized in all sections as a legitimate means of raising money for public purposes — “to build churches, to aid the deserving poor, to erect light-houses, colleges, buildings, and

bridges.” Faneuil Hall, Boston, when destroyed by fire, was rebuilt by lottery. During the trying days of the Revolution, when money was scarce, it was proposed to raise money for the “next campaign” by lottery.

166. Religion.— The colonists were a profoundly religious people. The clergy in nearly all sections were of a superior class. Those of New England and of the Carolinas excelled all others in breadth of learning and scholarship. The Puritans of New England as well as the Germans, the Dutch, the Quakers, and the Scotch-Irish of the other colonies hated the Established Church of England. In New York, in Virginia, in Maryland, and in the colonies farther south, this church had

been established. It was not popular with the masses in New York because the clergy were bitter in their opposition to all other forms of church service. Their attitude provoked dissensions in Virginia and Maryland as well. The attempt of the Established clergy to fasten the Established Church upon the colonies and to uphold the authority of the bishops was indignantly resented. "No Bishops" and "No Established Church" became cries which were heard down to the time of the Revolution and had not a little to do with uniting the colonies against England at that time.

In some sections the clergy of the Established Church were not even godly men, "concerning themselves more for tithes than for souls." Their reckless and careless habits caused "as bad as a Maryland parson" to become a proverb in the colonies.

The majority of the colonists were Protestants. At the time of the Revolution it is said that every Protestant sect then known was represented in America. There were Congregationalists, Presbyterians, Dutch Reformed, Baptists, Episcopalians, Quakers, Lutherans, and Methodists. The Catholics were strongest in Maryland. The religious disputes of that day were very heated; at times bitter.

167. Amusements.—There were few forms of amusement in the colonies. Husking bees and quilting bees were common in all sections and dancing in some, though the latter was generally prohibited in New England and among the Quakers. The theater was not tolerated, yet traveling museums interested all the people. The church, or "meeting house," was the common meeting place of all classes and afforded an opportunity for exchanging gossip and bits of conversation. Thus the church service in many localities was apt to be an all-day service, with a good portion of the time taken up in visiting. The "town meetings" in the New England colonies also furnished an opportunity for relaxation and entertainment. Even funerals, it is said, furnished a kind of "melancholy entertainment." Perhaps

at no period in the history of America were funerals so unnecessarily expensive as in that early colonial day—all because they afforded the people a chance for pomp and show, and at the same time furnished an occasion for assembling together. Public executions and hangings were also thus taken advantage of by the people. In New York and in the south, bands of concert singers or strolling actors made frequent appearance.

The rich planters in the south delighted in the pursuit of the chase—each keeping a pack of well-trained hounds. Horse-racing was common in the south. In the rural districts of all sections, games and amusements calling for “trial of strength” were indulged in. Thus wrestling, running, jumping, and “throwing the stone” furnished amusement



STAGE COACH

for large gatherings of people. The games of “fox and geese,” and “nine men’s morris” were also very popular. The male residents in many a neighborhood

amused themselves by “shooting at the mark,” a practice which developed superior marksmanship among the early pioneers. From this rural class came the sharpshooters of the Revolution.

168. Mode of Travel.—The usual mode of travel was on foot or horseback, and by water; though in the southern colonies the rich planters rode in a coach and six, accompanied by mounted servants. Chaises came in with the Revolution. Travel by land was always a hardship, since the roads were poor and ferries and fords not well located. A stage route was early established between Providence and Boston, which took two days for the trip. Later a similar route was established between New York and Philadelphia, requiring three days for the trip. In 1766 this time was

reduced to two days, whereupon the coach making the trip was called a "flying machine."

Travel by water was even more tedious than travel by land. It took six days to go from New York to Albany on the Hudson River.

Boats sailed only at intervals between Boston and New York; between New York and Philadelphia; and between Philadelphia and Charleston.



INN

Such a thing as comfort in travel was not known in those days. This kept the vast majority of people shut up in their own settlements. When a traveler arrived, he was the center of interest—he had brought news from the outside world. The inns or taverns by the roadside proved, in those days, poor stopping places for the tired traveler.

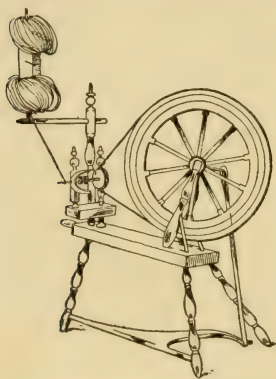
OCCUPATIONS AND MONEY

169. Occupations.—Agriculture formed the chief industry of the people, but in all sections farmers and planters were slow to introduce improved methods. Through long use the farm land had become "worn out" in many sections. Franklin recommended fertilizers, but the whole question of thus enriching the soil was little understood. Rotation in crops was not even thought of. Farm implements were crude and far from perfect. The hoe for the cultivation of his grain, and the flail for the thrashing of his wheat and rye, constituted the farmer's implements.

Sheep and cattle and swine were raised in abundance, though there was a tendency on the part of England to discourage the raising of sheep in the colonies, lest the

colonists engage in the manufacture of woolen goods. Corn and wheat were the staple products of the northern colonies. Tobacco, rice, indigo, and corn were the chief products in the south, though much wheat was raised in Maryland and Virginia. The Germans in Pennsylvania were the best farmers. Maryland made the best flour.

Manufacturing was discouraged by Great Britain. Ship-building not being discouraged, New England became one of the greatest ship-building countries in the world, supplying nearly one-third of all the ships used by England. Not



SPINNING WHEEL

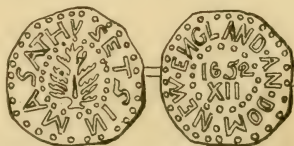
able to pay the price asked for imported English goods and wares, the mass of the colonists were forced to manufacture their own clothing, hats, paper, farm implements, cutlery, and household furniture. In almost every home was a spinning wheel, each household spinning its yarn and weaving its fabrics by hand.

Lumbering, and the manufacture of barrel staves, and other articles of commerce were carried on in New England. The iron mines of Pennsylvania and Maryland were opened and furnaces set up as early as 1740. However, manufactures from iron were early prohibited by parliament, though these two colonies were permitted to ship pigiron to England. The whole policy of the mother country was to keep the colonies dependent upon Great Britain by prohibiting manufacturing. The people on the coasts of New England were extensively engaged in fishing.

The colonies traded among themselves, but England discouraged even this; and in case of some commodities, prohibited trade altogether. A flourishing commerce had

sprung up between New England and the West Indies, New England exchanging her timber, ships, and rum for the sugar and molasses of the West Indies.

170. Money.—In the early history of the colonies, dried codfish, wampum, firs, bullets, corn, lumber, and even cattle, constituted money. A few of the colonies passed laws making some of these articles a legal tender in payment of debts and taxes. As early as 1650 the exports of Massachusetts had brought much gold and silver Spanish coin into the New England colonies. As a check on the circulation of this Spanish coin, a mint was set up at Boston in 1652 to make a set of coins for home circulation. Laws were passed which forced holders of Spanish coin to have their money recoined into New England coin at this mint. The Boston mint was discontinued in 1688. The money issued by it became known as the “pine tree currency”—due to the representation of a pine tree on one side of the coin. Of course English and Dutch money early came into use in the colonies.



PINE TREE SHILLING

Massachusetts issued paper money in 1690, and all the other colonies by 1750 had followed her example. Money values were measured in English pounds, shillings, and pence up to the time of the Revolution, when dollars and cents came into general use. Banks were established in some of the larger cities. However, the banks of colonial days were merely banks of issue, or loan banks. They did not receive deposits.

EDUCATION

171. In New England.—As early as 1647 the general court of Massachusetts declared that every town or district of fifty families should support a common school and that every town of one hundred families or over, should

support a grammar school of sufficient grade to prepare young men for Harvard College, which had been founded in 1636. Thus was founded the American public school system. The Massachusetts plan spread to every district in New England, so that by the time of the Revolution there was hardly a native born person twenty-one years of age in all New England who could not read and write. It is estimated at this time that the six hundred thousand people of New England constituted the best educated body of people in the world. They had their academies and colleges, and many of their leaders were college bred men.

The "town meetings" had their part in the education of the people of New England. They afforded a means of inter-



AN EARLY SCHOOLHOUSE

change of ideas on all matters pertaining to local and colonial affairs. In these meetings everyone had a right to speak and to vote. The majority ruled. Here the people learned to debate well and to become fearless advocates of what they believed to be right

in politics and religion. They were familiar with the colonial charters, with the powers of the British government, and were always ready with a written argument, protest, or petition, when colonial rights were being interfered with.

172. In the Middle Colonies, education was not neglected. Some historians insist that the Dutch had founded a free school system in New York even before the Puritans had founded one in Massachusetts. A few New Englanders had migrated to New York, New Jersey, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and even into some sections of the southern colonies, and wherever they went they set up the free public school. The first girls' school in the colonies was established at Lewiston,

Delaware. When the Quakers settled Pennsylvania in 1682, they established a public school system which gradually spread throughout the Quaker settlements of that colony. The Scotch-Irish, too, were believers in education and early looked after the education of their children. The middle colonies, like the New England colonies, had their colleges and academies, which took high rank.

173. In the Southern Colonies, however, education was most sadly neglected, though Virginia boasted of the second oldest college in the United States—the William and Mary College. Some of the royal governors of the south were opposed to the education of the common people. Governor Berkeley of Virginia protested against public schools and printing presses in these oft-quoted words: “Thank God! there are no free schools nor printing presses, and I hope there will be none for a hundred years.” This wish was nearly fulfilled—the first newspaper in Virginia was not set up until 1736, and even then was controlled by the government. However, some localities in the south believed in education. Maryland established free schools in 1696 and a free school was opened in Charleston in 1712. Private schools, which are still so numerous in the south, were established in many places. It must be remembered that negro slaves made up one-third of the population of the southern colonies and that the eight hundred thousand white population of that section were scattered over a vast territory. The rich planters of the south, and all others who could afford to do so, sent their sons to England to be educated. Many students from the south attended college in the northern and middle colonies, or were educated by private tutors at home.

174. The Colleges.—At the time of the Revolution the colonies boasted of nine colleges. Three were controlled by Episcopalians, three by Congregationalists, and one each by the Presbyterians, by the Dutch Reformed Church, and by the Baptists. The influence of these early colleges

on the intellectual development of the colonial period cannot be estimated. They were veritable centers of education. They scattered throughout the colonies a vast number of young men who became leaders of many a community in the trying days of the Revolution.

Harvard College, founded at Cambridge, Mass., in 1636, is the oldest college in the United States. It was named after a learned Englishman, John Harvard, who in his will left the college his library and five thousand dollars in money. To-day it is known as Harvard University, the largest insti-



tution of learning in America. The orator, Edward Everett, John Adams, John Quincy Adams, the historian Sparks, and the four great authors, Emerson, Longfellow, Lowell, and Holmes, have issued from its halls.

William and Mary College was established in 1693 at Williamsburg, the capital of Virginia. It was named after the king and queen of England. George Washington was at one time its president. It counted among its students three presidents of the United States,—Jefferson, Monroe, Tyler,—one chief justice, John Marshall, and one great American general, Winfield Scott.

Yale College was founded in 1700, at New Haven, Conn., by the action of ten Congregational ministers, who in that year gave books from their own libraries for the founding of a college in Connecticut. It received its name from Elihu Yale, who became an early friend of the college, giving it many valuable gifts of books and money. Nathan Hale was one of its graduates.

The College of New Jersey, now known as Princeton University, was founded in 1746, by the Presbyterians. One of its early presidents was John Witherspoon, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. James Madison and Aaron Burr were among its graduates.

King's College, later Columbia College, and still later the Columbia University, was founded in 1755, in New York City. Among its students was Alexander Hamilton.

The University of Pennsylvania was first established as a charitable school in 1745. Four years later it became an academy and received a charter as a college in 1755—the date from which it counts its beginning. It was created a university in 1779. Benjamin Franklin was its founder.

Brown University, first known as Rhode Island College, was founded at Warren, and removed to Providence, R. I., in 1770. It was established by the Baptists.

Rutgers' College, the old Queen's College of colonial days, was founded by the Dutch Reformed Church in 1770, at Brunswick, N. J.

Dartmouth College was chartered in 1769 at Hanover, N. H. It numbers among its graduates America's greatest orator, Daniel Webster.

Nearly all the colleges were closed during the Revolutionary war, but were reopened immediately after the signing of the treaty at the close of the war in 1783.

BOOKS AND LITERATURE

175. Books, Newspapers, and Pamphlets.—The first printing press in the colonies was set up at Cambridge, Mass.,

in 1639. The first book printed was a poetical translation of the Psalms, which became known as the New England Hymn Book. One of the editors of this book was the great Indian missionary, John Eliot. The colonial books of that day were mostly collections of sermons, or reprints of old authors.

At the breaking out of the Revolution there were but thirty-seven newspapers in the colonies. Of these, Massachusetts had seven, New York three, and Pennsylvania eight. The newspapers of that day were not much larger than a magazine page of the present day, and contained but four pages. Paper was very scarce, and it was necessary

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<p style="margin: 0;">T H U R S D A Y , A P R I L 3 , 1783</p>	<p style="margin: 0;">[NUMB CCCLXXII.]</p>
<p style="margin: 0;">B O S T O N : P R I N T E D B Y J O H N G I L L , I N C O U R T S T R E E T .</p>	
<p style="margin: 0; font-size: 0.8em;">THE ENTIRE PROSPERITY OF EVERY STATE RESTS UPON THE DISCIPLINE OF IT'S ARMY. THE KING OF PRUSSIA.</p>	

for the editor to condense his news into the smallest possible space. The editor issued his papers weekly, monthly, or at "odd times." The "Boston News Letter," published at Boston in 1704, was the first newspaper published in the colonies. The first daily newspaper in America, the "American Daily Advertiser," was not issued until after the Revolution, in 1784. The freedom of the press was denied by the colonial governors. The editor of the "Weekly Journal" of New York was arrested in 1732 for having criticised the governor and the New York legislature for laying illegal taxes on the colony. The editor, at his own request, was given the right of trial by jury. He secured able counsel, and although not permitted to prove the truth

of his charges, his lawyer made such an eloquent plea to the jury that that body, setting all law aside, acquitted the editor amid the cheers of the populace,—thus was the freedom of the press secured to the colonies long before newspapers in England enjoyed the privilege.

However, while this was not the age of newspapers, it was the age of the “pamphleteer”—a name given to one who writes pamphlets. Hundreds of pamphlets were published and circulated throughout the colonies on a variety of topics. They proved a great source of education to the reading public, as they were usually written by the ablest men in the colonies. These pamphlet writers did a great work in preparing the public mind for the coming struggle with Great Britain.

176. Literature.—But little attention was paid to literature at this period of colonial history. Increase Mather and his son, Cotton Mather, are said to have been the founders of American literature. Increase Mather was one of the early presidents of Harvard College. His list of published works numbers one hundred and thirty-six volumes, the one on “Remarkable Providences,” published in 1634, being his chief work. Cotton Mather wrote (1702) a religious history of New England, which he called “Magnalia.” Even at this day it is read with interest by many. It contains a vast amount of information concerning the early history of New England, largely set forth in biographies of leading divines and civil officers.

The two greatest names in American literature prior to the Revolution were those of Jonathan Edwards and Benjamin Franklin. These two men were the only two men in America recognized in Europe on account of their superior scholarship. Edwards’s greatest work was his essay on the “Freedom of the Will.” He was a profound thinker and left his mark upon the religious literature of America for a hundred years. The poet Oliver Wendell Holmes was a student of the life and times of Jonathan Edwards. It was

Jonathan Edwards whom Holmes had in mind when he wrote his wonderful satire, *The "Deacon's Masterpiece,"* now more popularly known as the *"Wonderful One Hoss Shay."*

177. Benjamin Franklin.—However, Benjamin Franklin's name is the greatest name of American literature in the eighteenth century. In 1732 he began the publication of *"Poor Richard's Almanac"* at Philadelphia, which he continued to issue annually for the next twenty-five years. Poor Richard's sayings laid hold upon the people and became part of their daily conversation. It was he who gave us the maxims, *"Early to bed and early to rise makes a man healthy, wealthy and wise"*; *"Honesty is the best policy"*; *"A stitch in time saves nine"*; *"God helps them that help themselves"*; and hundreds of other short, pithy sayings which go to make up the common-sense views of our every-day life. Franklin also wrote essays on religious, moral, political, and economical subjects. His *"Autobiography"* takes rank to-day as one of the classics in our literature. His style is smooth and beautiful, clear and logical. Edwards was a college graduate—at the time of his death he was president of Princeton University. Franklin was a self-educated man. He came from the lower class of New England, but by his energy, perseverance, and native ability became the leading man of the American colonies, and prior to the Revolution was recognized in the Old World as the first man in America. Even after the Revolution his name was always coupled with that of Washington in the mind of the European. He amassed a fortune. He was interested in science and invention. With the aid of a kite in 1752 he discovered the identity of electricity and lightning. He invented the lightning rod and the Franklin stove. He published the best newspaper in the colonies, the *Pennsylvania Gazette*, at Philadelphia, where he took delight in republishing old classics with his own imprint on the title page. He was proud to be known as *"Benjamin Franklin, printer."* He

established a library and a hospital in Philadelphia, and founded the University of Pennsylvania in 1755. He was the first to propose a union of the American colonies at the Albany Convention, in 1754. As agent for Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, he ably defended the colonies before parliament during the exciting times preceding the outbreak of the Revolution. He perfected the postoffice system in America. During the Revolution he represented the colonies at the court of France. In the field of diplomacy he has never been surpassed. In many respects Benjamin Franklin was one of the most remarkable men America has yet produced.

178. Libraries.—Franklin founded a free library at Philadelphia in 1731. Near the same time a public library was founded at Newport, Rhode Island, and in 1754 the city of New York established a public library for the accommodation of the reading public. Charleston had a public library in 1700—perhaps the oldest in America. At the middle of the eighteenth century the colonies were very prosperous and the founding of libraries and hospitals and charitable institutions was a natural outgrowth of this prosperity.

SLAVERY AND INDENTED SERVICE

179. Slavery in the Colonies.—By the treaty of Utrecht at the close of Queen Anne's War (1713) Great Britain was given a complete monopoly of the slave trade between Africa and the Spanish West Indies. This trade proved a source of great wealth to Great Britain, and immensely increased the traffic in African slaves in Europe and America. Many of the colonies desired to prohibit the importation of slaves, but this Great Britain would not permit, forcing slavery upon them. Slavery, as we have seen, was first introduced into Virginia, in 1619, by a Dutch man-of-war. The Dutch soon after introduced the system into their own colony of New York. They also carried their slaves with them into New

Jersey, and later into Delaware, when they conquered the Swedes in that colony.

The Swedish colony of Delaware and the Governor Oglethorpe colony in Georgia, were the only American colonies where slavery was absolutely prohibited at the beginning. As we have seen, the Dutch introduced slavery into Delaware; Georgia remained a free colony for sixteen years after its founding, when (1749) on a petition of her settlers for the "one thing needful" parliament repealed the prohibition against slavery. Thus it appears that each of the American colonies held slaves within its borders.

180. Sentiment Against Slavery.—Slavery existed in the Old World as a recognized institution, under the control of law. It is, therefore, not surprising that it was soon transplanted to America. Nearly all the colonies accepted slavery as a custom and sought early to control and regulate it, or to restrict it by law—some sought to prohibit it altogether. As the period of the Revolution approached, public sentiment in the colonies was setting in strongly against slavery. There were leaders who opposed it in all the colonies from New Hampshire to Georgia. In the south George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, James Madison, Patrick Henry, George Mason, and Henry Laurens opposed it, and deplored its existence in their section—each hoping that in some way not yet imagined its gradual and peaceful abolition might be accomplished. Slavery was felt to be opposed to the spirit of the times and met with opposition in many sections on high moral grounds. In 1760, the Quaker church in Pennsylvania made slave holding and slave trading a matter of church discipline. There was a general feeling that the system was evil in itself and that it was desirable to rid the country of it by gradual abolition.

181. Number of Slaves.—From the beginning, the white race in the cold north colonies had found it easier to do work for itself than to compel work from the slaves; while in the warmer south it was found easier for the white man to com-

pel work from the slave than to do it himself. As a result, the slave population was greatest in the south, where slave labor proved very profitable in the cultivation of tobacco, rice, cotton, and the indigo plant. Indeed, New York and New Jersey were the only northern colonies where slaves were held in large numbers.

Of the total population in 1701, fifty thousand were negro slaves. Ten thousand of these were north of Mason and Dixon's line (the boundary line between Pennsylvania and Maryland) and forty thousand in the colonies south of that line. This was before Great Britain had secured a monopoly of the slave trade in the West Indies. In the census of 1755 the number of slaves had increased to two hundred and sixty thousand—about thirty thousand were in the New England and middle colonies, and the remainder (two hundred and thirty thousand) in the southern colonies. In 1775 the number had still further increased to forty-six thousand north of Mason and Dixon's line, as opposed to four hundred and fifty-five thousand south of it.

These figures show how slowly slavery was increasing in the north and also how alarming was its increase in the south—the negro slaves constituting one-third of the entire population of that section. It is not surprising, therefore, that Washington and Jefferson, as well as other able leaders in the south, looked upon the growing slave population of their section with the greatest alarm. The condition of the slaves was far better in the northern colonies than in the southern. In the north the slaves were used as domestic servants, while in the south they constituted the vast majority of the field laborers.

182. Slave Laws.—Numerous slave laws were passed by the colonial legislatures. In the southern colonies, the laws were largely in the interest of the master as against the slave. In the northern colonies, where public sentiment was strongly against the system of slavery, the laws were in the main against the master and aimed to lessen the

hardships of the "bound" class. Still, in all the colonies severe laws for the punishment of runaway slaves were passed. Persons aiding slaves to escape, or secreting them after escape, were held liable to punishment. A slave committing a crime was punished by death, and that, too, whether his crime was theft or murder. Even the masters who failed to punish their runaway slaves were themselves punishable by law.

The forms of punishment usually visited upon the slave by the master were flogging, branding with a red-hot iron, or the cutting off of an ear. In some colonies, should a slave die while receiving punishment, his master would not be molested unless it were shown that he intended to commit murder. In such an event, a fine would be imposed and the master released.

183. Indented Servants.—As we have already seen in the history of Virginia, white slavery was permitted in that colony under the name of "indentured servants." These "indented" white persons were sometimes called "redemptioners," because they could redeem themselves by their labor. Indented service existed in all the American colonies,—it was especially common in Virginia and Maryland. There were two classes of these servants—those who voluntarily sold themselves, and those who without their consent were sold into slavery. Of this latter class were many prisoners of war from England, as well as political prisoners and prisoners for debt. Even criminals brought from the jails of England and Scotland were sold in the colonies, where they were known as "jail-birds."

The length of indented service was limited by law and varied with age, ranging from five to seven years, and rarely extending beyond fourteen years. When these redemptioners had gained their freedom they were given at once all the privileges of any other class of citizens. In some colonies their masters had to provide them with clothing and certain necessary supplies on the completion of their term of service.

Many of the indented class were refined and educated people. One of the future signers of the Declaration of Independence had served time as a redemptioner. However, the vast majority of these servants were illiterate. On gaining their freedom, their poverty and their lack of education forced them to continue, as a matter of fact, in a state of servitude. Thus, as we have learned in the history of Virginia and North Carolina, these poor white slaves were the parent stock of the "poor whites" in the south.

184. The Trade in Indented Servants.—Certain sea-captains made a regular business of trade in indented servants. When such a captain would arrive in a colonial port, he would at once post a notice in the town stating that he had tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, farmers, or domestic servants for sale; whereupon all those desiring such labor would go on board ship, make their purchase, and retire. The traffic in this kind of slavery encouraged kidnapping, and the greatest abuses against the laws of society were committed by wicked sea-captains.

As the colonies grew in population, the traffic in indented servants largely decreased on account of a growing disposition on the part of the servants to run away from their purchasers. However, on the breaking out of the Revolution, there were several thousand of these indented servants in the colonies. Many of them enlisted in the patriot army. On the strong recommendation of Washington, all such were given their freedom, payment for their unredeemed time to be made to their masters by the general government. After the Revolution, the system rapidly declined, only one state, Connecticut, retaining it for any length of time.

POLITICAL LIFE

185. The Government of the Colonies.—As to government, the colonies at the time of the Revolution were divided into three classes.

(1) Charter colonies, or those holding charters which permitted them to elect their own governors. Connecticut and Rhode Island were charter colonies in this sense.

(2) Proprietary colonies. Such were to be ruled by a proprietor, or proprietors, to whom the king had granted the land, or by governors, appointed by them. Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland were proprietary colonies.

(3) Royal colonies, or those ruled by governors appointed by the king, and held subject to him. New Hampshire, Massachusetts, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North and South Carolina, and Georgia were royal colonies.

In all these forms of government, subjection to the king was the chief feature.

Each colony had a legislature of its own similar to the legislatures of the states at the present time,—consisting, as a rule, of an upper and a lower house. Members of the lower house were elected by the votes of the people, the right to vote being limited to landowners, taxpayers, or those receiving a yearly income. In nearly all of the colonies each voter must be a member of some Christian church. Representatives in the upper house were appointed by the governor. These legislatures made laws very much as laws are made by the state legislatures of to-day. All laws passed must be in harmony with the laws of England and no law could be passed over the governor's veto. In some of the colonies the king claimed the right to veto a law at any time within three years after its passage, and this claim he frequently made good.

186. Colonial Governors and Lords of Trade.—Each colony had a colonial governor, who, in the royal colonies, was appointed by the king; in the proprietary, by the proprietors. In the charter colonies, the governors were elected by the people. The crown of England, however, growing weary of personally controlling affairs in the colonies, appointed a commission in 1696, to be known as the Lords of Trade and Plantations. This body from that date to the

time of the Revolution had direct supervision of colonial affairs. It dealt directly with the crown on the one hand and with the colonial governors and legislatures on the other, the king usually accepting as final its recommendations.

187. Parliament and the Colonies.—At first the English parliament was practically barred from legislating in the affairs of the colonies. It had usually been the policy of the reigning monarchs of England that in colonial affairs the will of the king was supreme. All land belonged to the king and not to the English government. He could grant land and cancel such grants when he pleased. He could make and revoke charters at his will. All this was somewhat changed during the period of the Commonwealth, when the parliament known as the Long Parliament passed the first Navigation Act (1651). Thereafter parliament continued to legislate on colonial matters. As the years went by, the right of parliament so to legislate was recognized by the English rulers. Particularly did parliament continue to legislate in the regulation of colonial trade.

By an act of parliament, the English postal service was extended to America and the rate of postage established. An act regulating the currency was also passed. However, neither king nor parliament made any attempt to tax the colonies. Such a proposal was made in 1696, but it at once met with opposition both in England and America. A pamphlet was issued in America, protesting against the right of parliament to tax the colonies when the colonies had no representation in parliament. This question was not raised again for nearly seventy years.

188. The Postoffice.—The postoffice, established in the reign of William and Mary, hardly became a system in America prior to the year 1738. Benjamin Franklin was made deputy postmaster-general for the northern district of the colonies in 1753. He at once reformed the whole system, and the postoffice became a paying institution under his management. He formed a regular system of officers

and carriers, requiring mails to arrive and depart on schedule time. He originated the plan of advertising "uncalled for letters." Between the important cities he increased the number of mails to three times per week in the summer and once in the winter. Letters were carried by post-riders on horseback. These post-riders were very

important personages in those days. They carried the news from post-town to post-town, and were required to watch for runaway slaves or servants.

Beginning with New York as a center, Franklin established three important mail routes: one from New York to Boston, another from New York to Quebec by way of Montreal, and a third from New York to Philadelphia. Regular mail boats were run between New York and Falmouth, England.



POST-RIDER

When Franklin was removed from office at the breaking out of the Revolution a system of mail routes had been established from New Hampshire to Charleston, South Carolina. None of these, however, penetrated far into the interior of the continent.

189. Political Parties in the Colonies.—Since the seventeenth century two great political parties had existed in England, known as the Whig party and the Tory party. The Tories were in favor of increasing the power of the king; the Whigs were opposed to such a policy—insisting that parliament should have more to do in the affairs of government. These two political parties naturally appeared in the colonies, advocating the principles for which the

leaders stood in England. After the year 1688 "Tory" in the colonies gave way to "Loyalist"—the name Tory having become a term of reproach on account of the conspiracies set on foot in the old world to replace the house of the Stuarts on the throne of England.

At the time of the Revolution the Whig party in the colonies furthered the movement toward revolution by opposing the king, by advocating popular freedom, and by resisting the laws of parliament. They now revived the hated name of "Tory" and applied it as a term of reproach to the Loyalist party, which advocated loyalty to King George and the laws of parliament.

Many Tories enlisted in the English army during the Revolution and fought with great bitterness against their country. They became a hated class in America. Long before the Revolution had ended, acts of banishment were passed against them by nearly all the colonial legislatures. So unpopular had the Tories become at the close of the war that the vast majority of them left the country when the English troops withdrew.

Before the Revolution began the term "Colonist" had given way to "American"; and "English," to "British." The latter name was first used by the colonists as a term of reproach, and was aimed directly at King George III. and his favorite, Lord Bute, who pompously paraded the fact before the world that they were "true Britons."

190. The Colonists and Their Leaders.—At no time in the history of America has leadership counted for so much as during the colonial and revolutionary period.

The name of Washington, representative of the planter class—lovingly referred to as the "Father of his Country"—certainly leads all others; while the name of Franklin,—philosopher, diplomat, and statesman—stands next.

The college bred men were respected in every community where they chanced to reside. Alexander Hamilton of Columbia College—future aid to Washington throughout the

Revolution, and future financier of the republic—and John Jay, also of Columbia, are but representative of this class.

The clergy of New England, indeed, the majority of the clergy in all other sections, were patriotic men,—devoted to spreading the “gospel of liberty” throughout the colonies. The influence of the pulpit then was greater than at the present time. The clergy did more than preach,—“they led and inspired the people; they kept patriotism aflame; they moulded national character.” John Witherspoon,—eloquent divine, president of Princeton College, signer of the Declaration,—was but a type of the clergy.

The merchant class was ably represented by John Hancock of Boston, who, with that Puritan patriot, Samuel Adams, did more than all others to hasten the Revolution.

Dr. Joseph Warren, who yielded up his life at Bunker Hill, was a noted physician; Roger Sherman of Connecticut was of the tradespeople, having been a shoemaker in early life. The farmers were represented by the brave Israel Putnam, who, when he heard the news of the battle of Lexington, left his ox team standing at the plow and put off in hot haste on the road to Boston to join the patriot army.

John Adams and James Otis in Massachusetts, supreme in oratory; John Dickinson in Pennsylvania, future author of the “Farmer Letters”; Thomas Jefferson of Virginia, the future author of the Declaration,—eloquent over all others in the use of his pen,—were eminent in the legal profession. Patrick Henry of Virginia, the greatest orator of the Revolution, was also a lawyer. We can almost see him now as he stands in the old St. John’s Church on the hill in Richmond saying, with whitened face and uplifted hand, “I know not what course others may take, but as for me, give me liberty or give me death.”

This, then, was the leadership which protested against the tyranny of King George, and later confronted him with the Declaration of Independence and made for all time the American Revolution the synonym of American liberty.

CHAPTER VII

THE STRUGGLE FOR INDEPENDENCE

1763-1783

191. Colonial Policy of England.—The attitude of England toward her colonies has always been a consistent one, though at times not the most humane. England has always insisted that her colonies must in some manner contribute to the glory and advancement of the parent country. She has seldom resorted to direct taxation, however. A more effective method of raising revenue has prevailed—that of restrictive trade measures, by means of which commerce has been directed toward England. These measures have not always been mandatory; but if not, trade regulations have been usually so drawn as to favor the English home merchant as against the colonial merchant.

192. Conditions in England.—The years immediately succeeding the “Seven Years’ War” were trying ones in England. It is true that an empire had just been gained, but it was at the sacrifice of much blood and treasure. It was urged in England that the English soldier and the English treasury had relieved the colonies from the necessity of constant watchfulness over their ancient enemy, the Indian; that the issue of the war had been to the advantage of the colonies as well as of England; and that, therefore, the colonists, as Englishmen, should be required to meet their share of the expenses of the war. The colonists, on their side, argued that if taxes were to be laid, the colonial legislature must vote them. The colonists could not act in the English parliament, and so the laying of taxes by that body would be “taxation without

representation," to which they declared they would not submit.

The attitude of the colonies was misunderstood in England. Unfortunately, this misunderstanding was aggravated by misleading reports made by the royal governors as to the character of the colonists. The governors were in constant clash with the legislative bodies in the colonies over matters of public policy. The colonists always sided with their own legislators, so that the reports of the governors to the king and his ministers represented the colonists as turbulent and disloyal.

193. Conditions in the Colonies: Growth of Democracy.—The colonists did not desire a separation from the mother country. They were proud of England; proud to be called Englishmen. And especially was this true after England's great victory over the French. But this feeling was gradually changed to one of distrust and aversion by the shortsighted policy of George III. and the statesmen who controlled English politics at that time. The expense of the four intercolonial wars had been borne to a large extent by the colonies, and they had furnished their full quota of men to uphold the supremacy of England in the New World. They were burdened with debt incurred in the prosecution of the French and Indian War; they had suffered the destruction of much property, and many precious lives had been sacrificed. And even under these conditions they were willing to contribute to the support of the home government, if they, through their legislatures, could say how the money was to be raised. As one after another of their efforts to secure this privilege was spurned, the sentiment for independence was developed; not as a thing in itself to be desired, but as an escape from what they considered the tyranny of a despotic king.

The growth of the spirit of liberty and equality in America was more rapid than its growth in England because the colonists were farther removed from the influences of royalty

and aristocracy. In the colonies, frequent milestones marked its progress. The demand for a representative assembly in Virginia in 1619; the freedom of action accorded the settler in the very beginning of all the New England colonies; the written constitution of the four Connecticut River settlements; Bacon's protest against the tyranny of Berkeley in Virginia; the arrest and expulsion of Andros in Massachusetts;—all these were evidences of the growth of democracy in the New World. Had this been respected and understood by the home government, instead of its being antagonized, the history of the Revolution need not have been written.

194. The Principle of Taxation as Used by England.—English statesmen in control during the period just prior to the Revolution contended that nothing was being asked of the colonists which was not already borne by Englishmen at home. This was true. Many of the larger cities in England were not represented in parliament, though they paid taxes regularly. The districts from which members of parliament were elected had been formed years before. In some of these nearly all the people had moved away, but members still continued to be elected. At Old Sarum there were no residents; in several other districts there were but three or four voters, while in certain sections of the country new communities had grown up, such as Birmingham and Leeds, with numerous populations, and large property interests, and yet, without representation in parliament. This was "taxation without representation," just what the colonists were protesting against. It was not honestly contended that this was right. It was a condition that had obtained gradually and was left undisturbed because it suited the ends of the corrupt politicians of that day, and of an equally corrupt king.

195. Navigation Acts: Intercolonial Wars.—These are two of the remote causes of the Revolution. It has been shown how the colonists always loyally supported their sovereign

and bore their share of the burden in the intercolonial wars. The remembrance of his sacrifices rankled in the heart of the colonist when the government for which he had sacrificed so much gave so little heed to his petitions for justice.

The first Navigation Act was passed in 1651. This was reënacted in 1660, and strengthened still further by the acts of 1663 and 1672. In addition to these four principal acts, twenty-five additional acts were passed by parliament during the period from 1672 to 1774. Many of these laws had direct bearing on the commerce of the colonies. It was required that both exports and imports should be carried in English vessels, or in ships built in the colonies, the same to be manned by crews and officers, a majority of whom, in each instance, were to be English. These acts were originally aimed at the Dutch, who had a monopoly of the American carrying trade and, indeed, of the trade of the world. While the acts encouraged activity in ship-building in the colonies to the extent that ship-building in New England had become an important industry, still, the main provisions of the acts tended to make the colonies dependent upon England. As the years passed the acts in this respect became more and more objectionable to the colonies. However, the navigation acts had not of late been enforced with much rigor. The English government, as we have seen, now resolved to enforce these laws rigidly as one method of increasing the revenues. Taken in connection with other burdens, this enforcement became a source of great irritation to those engaged in shipping or mercantile pursuits in the colonies.

196. Writs of Assistance.—Smuggling was the natural result of the navigation acts and was winked at by the colonial authorities, who were opposed to the enforcement of the acts. In order to find smuggled goods the king's officers were given writs of assistance. With one of these in hand an officer could search the house or premises of any citizen at

any time during the day. This aroused the most violent opposition in the colonies. The search could be made on the unsupported charge of the officer, with no penalty attached if goods were not found.

197. Stamp Act—1765: Protests.—The first bold attempt to tax all the colonies was by the passage of a Stamp Act in 1765. Though the Sugar and Molasses Act had been renewed two years prior to this act, still it affected only New England, while the Stamp Act aroused opposition in all the colonies. It required all legal and public documents, marriage certificates, wills, etc., to be written on stamped paper, for which an increased price was asked, the surplus going to the government. The passage of the act was preceded by a year's notice from the prime minister, Lord Grenville, that such action was contemplated. At a town meeting in Boston, held in May, 1764, to protest against the proposed tax, resolutions eloquently presented by Samuel Adams were passed which, for the first time, formally denied the right of the English government to tax the colonies without their consent. The Massachusetts legislature later indorsed these resolutions and issued a circular letter to the other colonies asking that they petition against the passage of the act. But, disregarding all these petitions parliament passed it.

198. The Stamp Act Congress—1765.—The interval between its passage and the day the Stamp Act was to go into effect was full of excitement in the colonies. Clubs taking the name of "Sons of Liberty" were immediately organized all over the colonies. Massachusetts proposed a congress of delegates from all the colonies to discuss measures to defeat its enforcement. Nine colonies responded and a declaration of rights was drawn up by this "Stamp Act Congress" and sent to the king. It was asserted therein that Americans were British citizens, and it was the right of all such to be represented in any body that levied taxes upon them. This congress also advised the formation of nonimportation clubs among the

colonial merchants, and clubs among the people to encourage the use of home products in the colonies.

199. Organized Resistance: Repeal of the Act: Declaratory Act.—As the stamped paper began to arrive for distribution, the excitement became intense. Those who had accepted appointment as distributors were forced to resign, some of them being roughly handled on refusal. The paper was seized and in many cases burned. In Boston the Sons of Liberty tore down the frame building that was being erected for the distributor, and, piling it before his house, placed the stamped paper thereon and made a bonfire of the whole. In New York they broke into the coach house of the governor, placed images of the Devil and the governor on the coach, then paraded the streets, finally burning coach and images, while the governor, and General Gage and his militia, looked on, not daring to resist. On the 1st of November, the day the act was to go into effect, funeral processions were formed, bells were muffled and tolled, and flags were placed at half mast. At Portsmouth, N. H., a coffin was borne in procession, inscribed, "Liberty, aged CXLV years"; when the grave was reached signs of life appeared, the changed inscription reading: "Liberty revived," when it was borne back amid great rejoicings. Thus the common people condemned the Stamp Act. And yet, few of the colonial leaders thought of resisting its enforcement after it was once passed, Franklin himself advising submission and Richard Henry Lee accepting appointment as one of the distributors. But the colonists bought none of the stamped paper; and, further, the policy of nonimportation among the colonial merchants was so effective that parliament, yielding to the remonstrances presented by London merchants whose business had greatly suffered thereby, repealed the obnoxious act in 1766. A Declaratory Act was appended, however, to the repeal, announcing that the government still held to its right to tax the colonies whenever and in whatever way it thought best.

200. Sparks of Liberty.—Perhaps no single event in the history of the world has occasioned more flights of sublime eloquence than the American Revolution. At the session of the Virginia House of Burgesses following the announcement of the Stamp Act, Patrick Henry, then a young, inexperienced lawyer, rising in his place, launched forth on a speech which horrified the Tories by its fierce invective against the king, and electrified the friends of America at its bold declaration of the rights of freemen. With eyes flashing and hand uplifted he thundered forth the philippic that has since been the tocsin of every American orator, proclaiming liberty as against despotic rule—"Caesar had his Brutus, Charles the First his Cromwell, and George the Third—may profit by their example."

James Otis was a young lawyer holding appointment under the king in Boston as state prosecutor. At the time of the excitement over the writs of assistance (1761) he resigned his office to argue against their constitutionality. In an impassioned speech before the Supreme Court of Massachusetts, he gave utterance to that terse statement, "Taxation without representation is tyranny," and declared that such iniquities as the writs in question had "cost one king of England his head and another his throne." John Adams, in referring to the stirring events of the day on which Otis had made this great speech in defence of the liberties of the people, said: "On that day was American independence born."

201. The Townshend Acts—1767.—While protesting against the Stamp Act, the colonial leaders had emphasized the distinction between external and internal taxes, and asserted that they were not opposed to the laying of the former. The excitement over the Stamp Act had hardly subsided when Charles Townshend, chancellor of the exchequer, therefore proposed the collection of duties on various articles, such as glass, paper, painter's colors, and tea. To this the colonists could not consistently object, though they found matter enough for objection in the fact that the act provided that the

moneys thus collected should be applied in paying the salaries of the officers of the king. But in connection with this measure were several others, all together known as the "Townshend Acts," and to these the colonists entered vigorous protest. Prior to the passage of these acts, the New York legislative body had refused to provide quarters for the troops sent over by the king. By one of these acts the New York legislature was forbidden to consider the passage of any other law until quarters were provided for the king's troops. Another act provided for the appointment of a board of commissioners to control the collection of all customs and duties, and provision was made for the trial of all revenue cases by admiralty courts without juries. These acts were promulgated the year following the repeal of the Stamp Act, and immediately fanned into fierce flame the smoldering embers left by that excitement. In Boston, Samuel Adams wrote a series of addresses on the acts, which were published by the Massachusetts legislature and scattered broadcast throughout the colonies, together with a circular letter urging concert of action as before. The merchants revived their nonimportation societies and the people again denied themselves the use of English goods and encouraged the exclusive use of articles of home manufacture.

202. "Letters of a Pennsylvania Farmer"—1768.—These letters were prompted by the passage of the Townshend Acts and were written by John Dickinson, a young Philadelphia lawyer, who assumed the guise and language of a farmer. He was a man of fine education, a thorough patriot, and with a wonderful insight into the needs of the colonies. His letters were moderate in tone, yet with convincing logic they drove straight to the point. Breathing a deep spirit of patriotism, they became a great factor in the preparation of the people for the coming conflict.

203. The Sloop Liberty—1768: The Boston Massacre—March 5, 1770: The Revenue Cutter Gaspee—1772.—Three of the events of these years are of importance as showing

the spirit of the times. The seizure of the sloop *Liberty* occurred in the harbor of Boston in 1768. Although the colonists did not deny the right of the English government to collect port duties, they felt the hardships thus imposed and evaded the payment of the duties whenever possible. Soon after the new board of commissioners had arrived from England the sloop *Liberty* was seized, without an official warrant, by a boat's crew from the British frigate *Romney*, for alleged violation of the revenue laws. The board of English commissioners sustained the action of the crew in seizing the *Liberty*, whereupon a large crowd gathered in the streets of Boston, the demonstrations growing so violent that the frightened commissioners took refuge on board the *Romney*. The *Liberty* was owned by John Hancock, the wealthy patriot merchant—the first signer of the Declaration of Independence.

This incident led indirectly to the Boston massacre, two years later. The accounts which the commissioners wrote of the matter to the home government were so lurid—characterizing the people of Boston as law-breakers and urging the immediate necessity of a military force in the city—that the king dispatched General Thomas Gage, as commander-in-chief of the British forces in America, to Boston with two regiments of troops. The city authorities refused to permit these troops to be quartered in Boston, quoting law to the effect that the barracks in the harbor must first be filled. However, General Gage found shelter for his troops by the payment of a high rent and the soldiers were kept in the city. Collisions between the soldiers and the rougher elements of the town were not infrequent, though there was no serious outbreak until the night of March 5, 1770. On that night a false alarm of fire caused a large crowd to gather on the streets. This crowd, having nothing better to do, began to annoy the British sentinels. As is usual at such times, a quarrel ensued. One word brought on another. Several soldiers were ordered out to aid the sentinels, and in the

growing excitement a gun was fired by someone in the crowd. This was answered by a volley from the soldiers, resulting in the killing of five of the citizens and the wounding of six others. Intense excitement prevailed and it was feared the soldiers would be seized and summarily dealt with. But wiser counsel controlled. The soldiers concerned in the firing were given up to the civil authorities, and were tried for murder—two of the most distinguished and able patriot lawyers, John Adams and Josiah Quincy, Jr., defending them. All were acquitted but two, who were given a sentence of manslaughter and branded in the hand. The immediate effect of the massacre was the withdrawal of Gage's regiments from the city at the peremptory demand of the Bostonians. They were henceforth quartered in barracks on an island in the harbor. The Boston massacre served to arouse the people of all the colonies against the iniquity of quartering troops on any people without their consent.

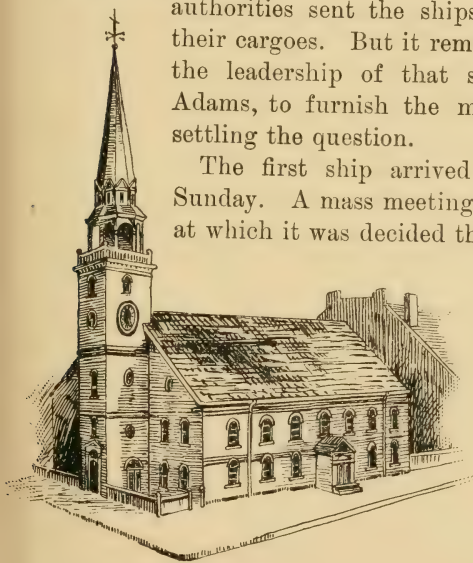
The burning of the *Gaspee* was another link in the chain that led up to the Revolution. The *Gaspee* was a revenue cutter used to patrol the New England coast in search of smugglers. The *Gaspee's* crew became so high-handed in their conduct that it was resolved to punish them. One night in Narragansett Bay the cutter ran aground. Eight boat-loads of colonists visited her and, setting the crew on land, burned the stranded ship to the water's edge. This act was made the subject of an investigation by parliament, but nothing could be found out about the perpetrators.

204. Cheap Tea, and the Boston Tea Party—Dec. 16, 1773.—The policy of nonimportation had again had its effect and the British ministry, after three years' trial, gave up in despair, so far as revenue was concerned. All duties were removed except on tea, and on this article the duty was made so low that tea could be bought cheaper in America than it could be bought in England. The king meant to "try the question with America," as he put it. He selected tea for the trial

in order to help the East India Tea Company, in whose warehouses in London the tea had been accumulating because the Americans had refused to use it. The Americans, however, were fighting for a principle and could not be silenced by cheaper tea. By 1773 the tea company had 17,000,000 pounds of tea in their warehouses and cargoes were sent to Charleston, Annapolis, Philadelphia, New York, and Boston. The colonists were, however, united in sentiment. At Charleston the tea was removed from the ship and stored purposely in damp cellars, where it soon spoiled. At Annapolis it was seized and burned. The Philadelphia and New York authorities sent the ships back to England with their cargoes. But it remained for Boston, under the leadership of that sturdy patriot, Samuel Adams, to furnish the most unique method of settling the question.

The first ship arrived in Boston harbor on Sunday. A mass meeting was held the next day at which it was decided that the ships must not

be allowed to unload, and the day following the captain promised to sail back to England as soon as he could receive his clearance papers from the governor. In the meantime other ships having arrived, they were treated in a



OLD SOUTH CHURCH

similar manner. But the governor delayed granting the clearance papers, hoping to pass the time limit of twenty days, when the shipping law required a cargo to be landed and stored. Thursday, December 16, marked the twentieth day, and the governor still delayed, and finally positively refused to issue the papers. When this fact had been

reported to the citizens in session at the Old South Church, Samuel Adams rose and said: "The meeting declares it can do nothing more to save the country." A few minutes after, a company of forty or fifty reputable citizens, lightly disguised as Indians, and followed by an immense crowd, proceeded quietly to the wharf and, boarding the vessels, cut open the tea cases and threw their contents into the harbor, after which the people quietly dispersed. This event is known in history as the Boston Tea Party.

205. The Boston Port Bill and the "Intolerable Acts"—March and June, 1774.—When the story of how the different cargoes were treated reached the English authorities, they determined that the people of Boston should be visited with especial punishment and that the other colonies should be made to feel England's power. A series of acts was accordingly prepared which, because of their severity, were known in America as the "Intolerable Acts." The first of these was the Boston Port Bill. The second was the Regulating Act, which annulled the charter of Massachusetts and made it a royal province. The third was the Transportation Act, providing that any person indicted for murder while in the service of the king should not be tried where the act was committed, but in England. The Quartering Act removed all legal obstacles to the quartering of troops in the colonies. The fifth and last was known as the Quebec Act. This act granted the French provinces religious toleration, and extended the province of Quebec westward to the Mississippi River and southward to the Ohio River. It was designed to prevent the province of Quebec from joining the other colonies in their demand for freedom. It still left intact the king's old "proclamation line" which had so greatly incensed the colonies in 1763. Several of the colonies claimed much of this new Quebec province as their own and felt outraged at the act. These acts were indeed "intolerable" acts. They were passed in 1774, and under their influence the Revolution ripened.

The Boston Port Bill was passed for the especial punishment of the city of Boston on account of its participation in the Tea Party. The bill went into effect June 1, 1774. It closed the port of Boston to everything but food and fuel until the tea should be paid for, and satisfactory evidence given that the people were thoroughly repentant.

206. Effect of the Bill and the Action of the Other Colonies.—

The immediate effect of the Port Bill at Boston was of course distressing. The trade of that city was almost exclusively carried on by sea. A large portion of its inhabitants were engaged in occupations made necessary by sea traffic, and these were at once thrown out of employment. But they were not dismayed, for they had the moral and material support of all the other colonies, to whom a circular letter had been sent asking for aid. The first of June was made a day of fasting and mourning in many of the colonies, and money and provisions were collected and forwarded to the stricken city. For all felt that this was a blow, which, though meant for Boston, was borne by that city in the interest of all the colonies.

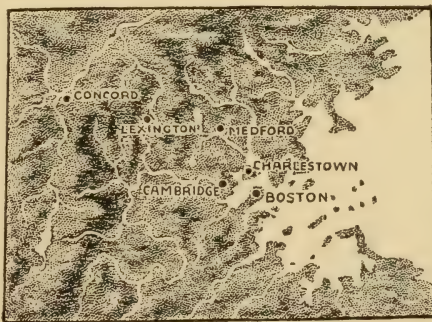
207. First Continental Congress—Sept. 5 to Oct. 26, 1774.—

Nothing so unites the hearts of individuals or of nations as a common danger. If the king could ruin Boston, the richest city in the colonies, he could ruin any other municipality unless abject submission was yielded to his demands. The colonial leaders began to realize that only in union could there be strength. This idea was voiced by the New York Sons of Liberty in a suggestion for a convention of delegates from the different colonies. Benjamin Franklin had also made this suggestion to the Massachusetts legislature, and similar proposals were made by the members of the Virginia assembly after its dissolution by the royalist governor. Accordingly, on September 5, there met in Philadelphia a congress of fifty-five delegates, every colony being represented but Georgia, where the royal governor was able to defeat an

attempt to choose delegates. In many respects this was a remarkable gathering. Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee were there from Virginia, the Adamses from Massachusetts and Jay from New York. All shades of religious opinion were represented, so much so that John Jay opposed the motion to open with prayer on the ground that there were so many sects that agreement could not be had on a suitable person. But Samuel Adams, stiff Puritan as he was, remarked that "he could hear prayers from any gentleman of piety who was at the same time a patriot," and moved to invite an Episcopal clergyman, who was present, to serve the convention. The Congress was in session until October 26. It issued an address to the people of the colonies, another to the Canadians, still another to the people of Great Britain, and a fourth to the king. In a declaration of rights, of which the great Pitt said that the "histories of Greece and Rome give us nothing equal to it," they demanded the repeal of eleven of the objectionable acts of parliament, asserted the right to tax themselves, the right to assemble peaceably for purposes of petition, and demanded that they be accorded the "rights of Englishmen," as laid down in all their charters. One of the most practical results of this Congress was the formation of the American Association. This was a nationalization of the nonimportation idea, giving it more strength and force by more effective organization. On the Port Bill question a decisive resolution of approval of the opposition of Massachusetts thereto was passed. The Congress also declared that if force should be used by the king to further carry out the acts of parliament, then, "in such case all America ought to support Massachusetts in her opposition." In many respects this was the most important utterance of the Congress, for it threw down the gauntlet to the king and parliament—"persist at your peril." When Congress adjourned it provided for another congress, to meet on the 10th of May, following, to consider the answer which the king was expected to make.

208. Battle of Lexington—April 19, 1775: "The Shot Heard Round the World."—During the fall and winter of 1775-76 stirring events were occurring in Massachusetts. General Gage, now also governor of Massachusetts, had been reinforced by four regiments of troops who were to awe the people of Massachusetts into submission. The people were still peaceably inclined, but they could not be coerced. They still met in their town meetings and refused to recognize the judges appointed by the king when he had revoked their charter. Under the pressure of public sentiment many of these judges resigned and those who did not resign were forbidden to qualify. Governor-General Gage called the legislature to meet at Salem, but before the time set had arrived he postponed the meeting. However, the legislature proceeded to meet without Gage's consent and at once appointed a committee of safety, one of whose duties was to collect military stores. In February, this committee made

provision for the organization of the militia of the state, to resist Gage should he employ force. Thus the winter was passed in preparation for possible war and all of the American colonies anxiously awaited the issue. Finally a per-



BOSTON AND VICINITY

emptory order came from the king for the arrest of Samuel Adams and John Hancock, two of the most noted of the patriot leaders. They were reported to be at Lexington near Concord, where the colonists had gathered many military stores. Gage concluded to capture the men and destroy the stores at one stroke. But the colonists had not been idle. On the night the expedition was to set out for Lexington

swift riders carried the warning of the coming expedition. The warning was given in sufficient time, Adams and Hancock were safe with friends, while the region in the vicinity of Boston was one blaze of signal lights, calling out the minute-men for long-expected action.

As the Redcoats marched into Lexington, they found a small body of minute-men assembled on the green. Major John Pitcairn was sent to disperse them and in the skirmish



A BRITISH SOLDIER

that ensued seven of the Americans were killed and a number wounded. The British then pressed on to Concord, but found little to destroy, as the patriots had secreted the greater portion of the supplies. Here another skirmish occurred, in which a small party of British were driven back to



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their main body. Noticing the rapidity with which the colonists were gathering, Colonel Smith concluded it the better part of valor to get back to Boston. By the time he had left Concord a host of colonial farmers lined the route by which the British must reach Boston. There was little or no organization among these farmers—they were not strong enough to give open battle—but every tree and rock became a breastwork from behind which there blazed

forth a withering fire. The day was intensely hot. The British had been under arms and on the march since nine o'clock of the evening before, and by the time Lexington was reached on their retreat they were well-nigh exhausted. The Americans continued their harassing tactics until halted by the guns of the British fleet at Boston.

EVENTS OF 1775

209. Gathering of the Hosts.—Thus General Gage had precipitated the Revolution. The Massachusetts assembly met immediately and resolved that Gage “ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate foe to the country.” All New England was instantly alive with militia, all moving toward a common rendezvous outside Boston, and in a few days Gage was confronted with sixteen thousand American soldiers, burning for revenge. General Artemas Ward, of Boston, was placed in temporary command.

210. Ethan Allen and Benedict Arnold at Ticonderoga—May 10: Seth Warner at Crown Point—May 10.—Benedict Arnold was early on the scene, and calling the attention of the leaders to the importance of securing the forts at Ticonderoga and Crown Point, was given a commission to raise a company for that purpose. But he had been anticipated by the “Green Mountain Boys” under Ethan Allen, who had organized for the same purpose. He thereupon joined the expedition as a volunteer. They arrived on the lake shore opposite the fort on the evening of May 9. Fearing lest their presence should be made known, Allen immediately crossed and in the early morning seized the sleepy sentinels and entered the fort. The surprise was complete. Bursting into the commandant’s bedchamber, he astonished that half-awakened officer with a demand for the surrender of the fort. “By whose authority?” “By the authority of the Great Jehovah and the Continental Congress,” replied Allen.

On the very day this scene was happening at Ticonderoga, Seth Warner, with another body of troops, captured Crown Point. Over two hundred cannon, an immense supply of ammunition, and a large quantity of military stores of every description, thus fell into the hands of the Americans.

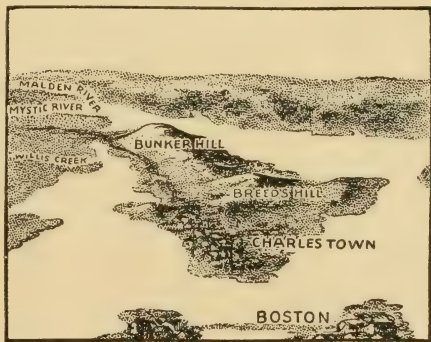
211. Second Continental Congress—May 10.—On the very day these stirring events were being enacted in the north, the day set for the convening of the Congress to hear the reply of the king, had arrived. Congress was confronted at once by the most serious questions. The king's only reply had been the sending of a fleet and of an army to punish Massachusetts for her rebellious conduct. Some of the members felt that nothing but independence would settle affairs, though all agreed that the time was premature for such a declaration. However, Congress stood by the resolution to meet force with force. It at once accepted the patriot army gathered at Boston and proceeded to provide for its proper officering and support. The session of the Second Continental Congress was practically continuous during the Revolution, meeting first at Philadelphia, then at such points as were considered safe from the incursions of the British. Without expressly delegated authority, it was forced by the pressure of rapidly transpiring events to act as if it were a legally constituted body, the different colonies in almost every case honoring its acts as such.

212. Washington Appointed Commander-in-Chief—June 17.—One of the gravest questions before Congress was the selection of a suitable commander-in-chief for the army. The qualities necessary were (1) a strong personality, (2) a successful military experience, (3) a keen insight into character, and (4) a burning patriotism capable of inspiring the army with a spirit that would endure any sacrifice. Though there were other candidates, it very early developed that George Washington, commander of the Virginia state militia, and a delegate to the Congress, would be the choice, and his appointment was unanimously agreed upon.



WASHINGTON'S FAREWELL TO HIS MOTHER

213. Bunker Hill—June 17.—While the Congress was deliberating over the grave questions consequent to a state of war, events were progressing toward open conflict at Boston. General William Howe had arrived from England with heavy reinforcements and it was at once resolved to take aggressive measures to put down the rebellion. Gage first issued an amnesty proclamation to all who would renew their allegiance to the king, making an exception of John Hancock and Samuel Adams, "the arch conspirators." This producing no effect, the British were about to begin active measures to dislodge the patriots, when the latter themselves precipitated the issue. Upon the information that Gage had directed General Howe to seize and fortify Dorchester Heights, the Committee of Safety determined on the seizure of Bunker Hill in order to divert Howe. Accordingly, on Sunday night, June 16, Colonel William Prescott was directed to seize that point. With twelve hundred picked men Prescott at first took possession of Bunker Hill, but believing that Breed's Hill, an adjoining elevation, would be better for the purpose, he threw up fortifications there instead. Great was the astonishment of the British at what they were pleased to call the "temerity" of the rebels. A few shells were thrown from the fleet, but it was soon discovered that the Americans could only be dislodged by a land attack or a siege. General Howe accordingly landed three thousand troops and stormed the intrenchments. Twice did the brave Redcoats meet the murderous fire; twice



CHARLESTOWN PENINSULA, SHOWING BUNKER HILL

they retired in utter confusion. Then fresh troops were landed and the third time they were led to what seemed inevitable slaughter. But, unfortunately, the Americans had not been supplied with sufficient ammunition. One volley, and then they clubbed their muskets to meet the bayonet charge of the British. Numbers, however, soon told against the Americans, who were forced to retire, though in splendid order and fine spirits. The Americans lost about one-fourth of their number, or four hundred and forty-nine, among them the brave General Joseph Warren, one of the leading patriots of Boston. The British lost one thousand and fifty-four men. Although a victory for the British, it had all the effects of a crushing defeat. It made Sir William Howe an extremely cautious general thereafter, and gave to the British soldier a wholesome fear of and respect for the American yeomanry. Among the colonies the battle inspired in the patriot heart confidence to meet the British foe. King George, after receiving the report of the battle of Bunker Hill, recalled Gage and appointed Howe commander-in-chief of the British forces in America.

214. Montgomery and Arnold at Quebec.—No further action occurred about Boston during that season. An expedition to Canada was undertaken by the Americans, however, for they believed that a successful blow dealt against Montreal and Quebec would encourage the Canadians to join the colonies in their revolt. The expedition was to consist of two sections. One section, under General Richard Montgomery, was to start from Fort Ticonderoga, take Montreal, and then join Arnold in an attack on Quebec.

Arnold, after undergoing the most terrible privations and hardships, arrived before Quebec in November, but with his force so reduced by the hardships of the trip that he could muster but seven hundred men for the attack. He was consequently compelled to wait for Montgomery. Upon the latter's arrival an attack was planned from opposite sides of

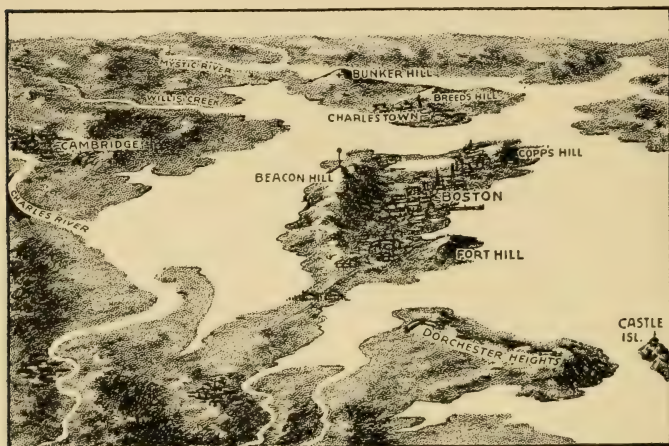
the city to take place the night of December 31. On that night, amid blinding snow and bitter cold the attack was made with such spirit that the troops fought their way well into the city. At this moment of possible victory, Montgomery was killed and his men became so disheartened that they were forced back by the now desperate British. Arnold's attack fared little better, he himself being wounded. His men fought on, however, until overpowered by numbers. This disaster cooled the ardor of the colonists in some degree and taught them to expect but little assistance from the Canadians.

EVENTS OF 1776

215. Howe Evacuates Boston—March 17.—July 3, 1775, on the village green at Cambridge, Washington took command of the American army. He was a strict disciplinarian and immediately instituted army regulations and daily drills. His desire was to drive Howe out of Boston as soon as possible. But he dared not make the attempt until the patriot army was properly equipped for the attack, and this proved no easy task. Everything pertaining to the equipping of an army had to be provided. The summer and early winter had passed before Washington felt that his army was in any way a match for the opposing force. Finally, the arrival from Ticonderoga and Crown Point of heavy siege guns and other supplies brought through the almost impenetrable wilderness on sledges drawn over the snow by oxen, made it possible to accomplish the fortification of Dorchester Heights, the key to Boston.

On the morning of the 5th of March, 1776, the British in Boston were treated to the unwelcome sight of the American flag on Dorchester Heights, commanding the city on the south. Howe thereupon ordered Lord Percy with three thousand troops to take the American position. A storm prevented the attack during the day, and the next morning it was decided that the position was too strong to

be carried. Thus had Bunker Hill taught the British to respect American valor. Learning of Howe's intention to evacuate Boston and desiring to avoid a bombardment by the British fleet, which would have inflicted unnecessary damage to private property in Boston, Washington did not attack Howe, allowing him to take his time in evacuating



BOSTON HARBOR

the city. It was the 17th of March before the British fleet set sail for Halifax.

216. The British in the South: Battle of Fort Moultrie—June 28.—In the early spring Howe sent Sir Henry Clinton south with a fleet for the purpose of subduing the southern colonies. Clinton found conditions in North Carolina so favorable to the American cause that he decided to attack Charleston on the South Carolina coast. At Charleston Colonel Moultrie had built on Sullivan's Island a fort which commanded Charleston harbor. The fort was a primitive affair, built out of palmetto logs and sand. In the battle which ensued on the 28th of June, Moultrie's

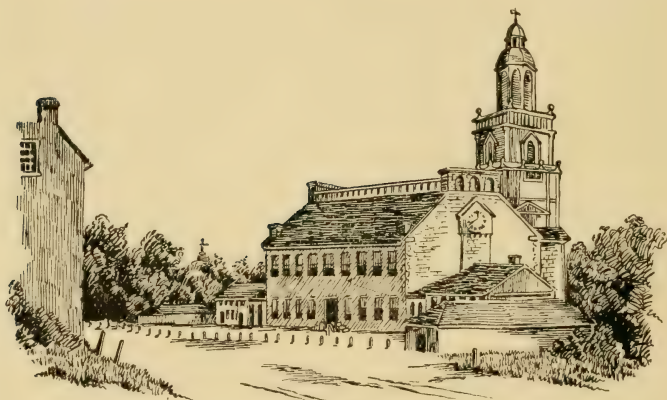
fort withstood, with but little damage, a terrific bombardment from the ten ships of the British. On the other hand, the aim of the Americans was so well directed that nine of the enemy's ships were disabled.

217. King George Hires Hessians.—When the abundance of England's resources at that time is considered, it is little wonder that the nations of the world marveled at the temerity of the American colonies in offering resistance to the parent country. England had a large, well-trained army of her own; she had early conciliated the Indians and in the hands of experienced frontiersmen they proved a source of great strength to the English; but King George still further added to the strength of his armies by the hiring of foreign troops—a practice then quite prevalent among the nations on the continent. Certain small states of Europe made war a business, training troops for service, and hiring them to such nations as had more money than men. During the Revolution, England sent over about thirty thousand of these mercenaries, for which she paid the enormous sum of nine million dollars. They were called Hessians because the larger number of them were hired from the ruler of Hesse-Cassel. They did the king good service in the field, but this service was greatly counterbalanced by the increased bitterness engendered in the minds of the colonists. This hiring of troops by King George also won for the colonists the sympathy of many nations, and strengthened the idea of independence in those colonies which were the most conservative. It roused the just indignation of Frederick the Great in Germany and incensed thousands of liberty-loving Englishmen at home.

218. Independence Declared—July 4.—It is well to remember that, while many of the leaders had advocated separation and independence before the Declaration was given to the world, still the great mass of the colonists at first neither asked for it nor thought it a necessary outcome to the struggle in which they were now engaged. An actual state of

war had existed over a year before the idea of independence was strong enough to carry in a majority of the colonies. North Carolina was the first to give public utterance to the idea, her assembly passing a resolution, April 22, instructing her delegates in Congress to "concur with those in other colonies in declaring independence." Virginia followed with a similar request, and on June 7 one of her able delegates, Richard Henry Lee, offered the following resolution for the consideration of Congress:

"Resolved, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be, free and independent states; that they are



INDEPENDENCE HALL

absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved."

The resolution was postponed until after the delegates could get instructions from their constituencies. It was brought up for consideration again on July 1, and on the following day, after full debate, was passed by Congress. A committee was immediately appointed to draft the Declar-

ation. This committee consisted of Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, and Robert R. Livingston. Jefferson, as chairman of the committee, wrote the Declaration, and it was adopted with little change on the evening of July 4, 1776, when it was announced to the populace by the ringing of the old Liberty Bell which hung in the tower of Independence Hall. The Declaration was immediately published to the world and was received in all the colonies with public demonstrations of approval. There were many, however, who felt the truth of Franklin's half jocular remark, made while the members were signing the engrossed copy. The president, John Hancock, feeling the gravity of the occasion, had urged all to stand by their action, adding, "We must all hang together." "Yes," replied Franklin, "or we shall assuredly all hang separately."

While Jefferson wrote the Declaration, and John Adams and John Witherspoon, by their eloquence, aided in its adoption still it was not the work of any one man nor company of men—in a broader sense it was the voice of the whole American people speaking through their representatives in Congress. It represented the public conscience of America at the time. While astonishing, it won the respect and admiration of nearly every country in Europe. Its passage on the evening of July 4, 1776, marks the birth of the republic. As America's first great state paper it cannot be omitted from these pages. Its full text follows:

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

WHEN, in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another and to assume among the powers of the earth,

the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident: that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights; that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That, to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that governments long established, should not be changed for light and transient causes; and, accordingly, all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such government, and to provide new guards for their future security.—Such has been the patient sufferance of these colonies; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former systems of government. The history of the present king of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute tyranny over these States. To prove this, let facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his assent to laws the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his governors to pass laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his assent should be obtained; and, when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of representation in the legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their public records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved representative houses repeatedly, for opposing, with manly firmness, his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused, for a long time after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected; whereby the legislative powers, incapable of annihilation, have returned to the people at large for their exercise; the State remaining, in the meantime, exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavored to prevent the population of these States; for that purpose obstructing the laws for naturalization of foreigners; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new appropriations of lands.

He has obstructed the administration of justice, by refusing his assent to laws for establishing judiciary powers.

He has made judges dependent on his will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of new offices, and sent hither swarms of officers to harass our people, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, standing armies without the consent of our legislatures.

He has affected to render the military independent of and superior to the civil power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his assent to their acts of pretended legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock trial, from punishment for any murders which they should commit on the inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of trial by jury:

For transporting us beyond seas to be tried for pretended offenses:

For abolishing the free system of English laws in a neighboring province, establishing therein an arbitrary government, and enlarging its boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these colonies:

For taking away our charters, abolishing our most valuable laws, and altering fundamentally the forms of our governments:

For suspending our own legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated government here, by declaring us out of his protection and waging war against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to complete the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of cruelty and perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the head of a civilized nation.

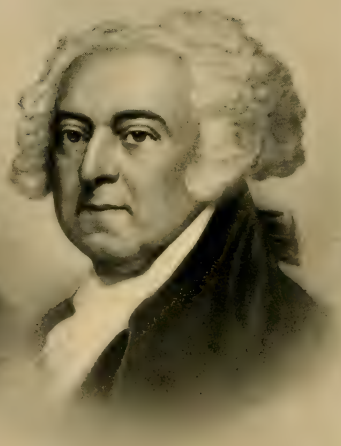
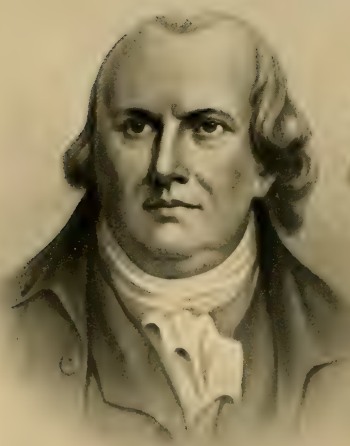
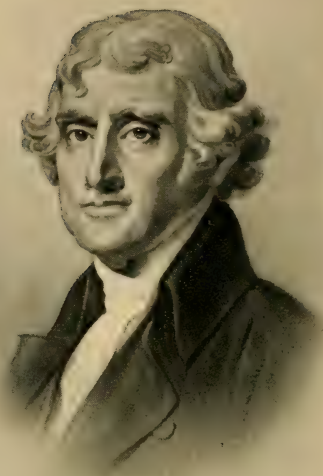
He has constrained our fellow-citizens, taken captive on the high seas, to bear arms against their country, to become the executioners of their friends and brethren, or to fall themselves by their hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavored to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these oppressions we have petitioned for redress in the most humble terms: our repeated petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free people.

Nor have we been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They, too, have been deaf to the voice of justice and consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, enemies in war, in peace friends.

We, therefore, the representatives of the United States of America, in general Congress, assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the name, and by authority of the good people of these colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent States; that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain is, and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as free and independent States, they have full power to levy war, conclude peace, contract alliances, establish commerce, and to do all other acts and things which independent States may of right do. And for the support of this



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN
ROBERT MORRIS

THOMAS JEFFERSON
JOHN ADAMS

REVOLUTIONARY LEADERS

declaration, with a firm reliance on the protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

New Hampshire.
Josiah Bartlett,
Wm. Whipple,
Matthew Thornton.

Massachusetts Bay.
Saml. Adams,
John Adams,
Robt. Treat Paine,
Elbridge Gerry.

Rhode Island.
Step. Hopkins,
William Ellery.

Connecticut.
Roger Sherman,
Sam'el Huntington,
Wm. Williams,
Oliver Wolcott.

New York.
Wm. Floyd,
Phil. Livingston,
Frans. Lewis,
Lewis Morris.

New Jersey.
Richd. Stockton,
Jno. Witherspoon,
Fras. Hopkinson,
John Hart,
Abra. Clark.

Pennsylvania.
Robt. Morris,
Benjamin Rush,
Benja. Franklin,
John Morton,
Geo. Clymer,
Jas. Smith,
Geo. Taylor,
James Wilson,
Geo. Ross.

Delaware.
Cæsar Rodney,
Geo. Read,
Tho. M'Kean.

Maryland.
Samuel Chase,
Wm. Paca,
Thos. Stone,

Charles Carroll of
Carrollton.

Virginia.
George Wythe,
Richard Henry Lee,
Th. Jefferson,
Benja. Harrison,
Thos. Nelson, Jr.,
Francis Lightfoot Lee
Carter Braxton.

North Carolina.
Wm. Hooper,
Joseph Hewes,
John Penn.

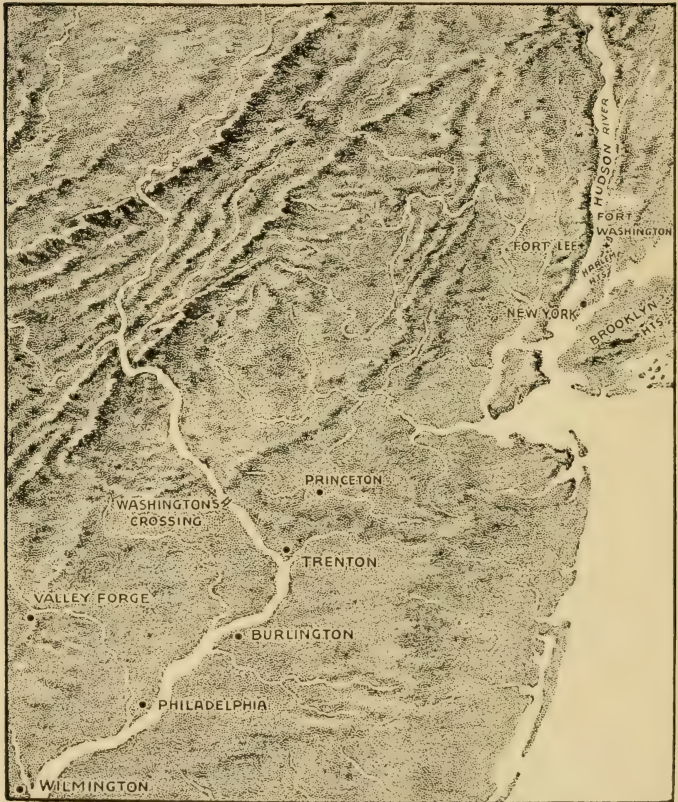
South Carolina.
Edward Rutledge,
Thos. Heyward,
Junr.,
Thomas Lynch, Junr.
Arthur Middleton.

Georgia.
Button Gwinnett,
Lyman Hall,
Geo. Walton.

219. Washington at New York.—Having forced the British to evacuate Boston, Washington soon repaired to New York. Washington had selected New York because he felt sure that Howe would make his next attack at that point. In this his judgment proved correct, for hardly had the American army seized and fortified the commanding position of Brooklyn Heights ere the British arrived from Halifax under Sir William Howe, reinforced by a fleet from England under command of Admiral Howe, brother of Sir William.

220. The Howes Offer Peace.—The British government still clung to the idea that the colonists would “repent of their

folly," and the Howes were jointly commissioned to publish an amnesty proclamation offering pardon to all those who had been engaged in rebellion. As they were not commissioned to recognize the existence in any way of a separate



government, and had nothing to offer but pardon to those who would admit no guilt, nothing came of their overtures and they were under the necessity of continuing the war. They at once planned to capture New York, seize the Hudson river, and cut New England off from the other colonies.

They began operations by landing a heavy force for the capture of Brooklyn Heights.

221. Battle of Long Island—August 27: Loss of New York.—The intrenchments on Brooklyn Heights were occupied by General Israel Putnam with nine thousand men. The British advanced to the attack in three divisions. Two of these divisions succeeded in surrounding a force under Generals Stirling and Sullivan and these two generals with a thousand troops were captured. Night coming on, the British took position as if for a siege. Washington arrived with reinforcements the next day. Knowing that the British would cut off the retreat of the army if it was not moved at once, Washington that night set the army in motion. Under cover of a dense fog he safely carried the entire army to the New York side bringing with him every piece of ordnance and all his army supplies. New York was now untenable and Washington withdrew to the highlands north of the city.

222. Nathan Hale.—An incident occurred during the Long Island campaign which brought home to the colonists the cruelties of war. Nathan Hale was a captain in the American army. Washington, desiring information concerning the movements of the British on Long Island, Captain Hale volunteered for the service. He had secured the information and was returning, when he was recognized and arrested. He was tried and convicted as a spy and after a brief period was hanged. The patriot was treated with undue severity—the farewell letters of his mother and sister being destroyed, the service of a minister denied, and even a Bible withheld. He was a true patriot to the last, going to his death with these noble words: “I regret only that I have but one life to give to my country.”

223. Retreat of Washington Across the Delaware.—General Howe now advanced to the highlands outside the city of New York whereupon Washington withdrew from Harlem Heights to White Plains, later intrenching himself at

North Castle. The British commander, however, remembering his experience at Bunker Hill, could not be induced to give battle there. The Hudson was guarded by Forts Washington and Lee. It was hoped that these forts would be strong enough to prevent the British fleet, under Admiral Howe, from passing up the river, but the fleet, passing them, landed a large body of the British above the forts, thus practically cutting off their garrisons from the rest of the American army. Washington thereupon ordered General Nathaniel Greene to abandon the forts unless some military condition arose that would make their retention possible. Greene thought Fort Washington on the east bank of the river might be held and reinforced it. But Greene erred in judgment. Howe sent an overwhelming force against the fort, and though the Americans desperately defended their position, their whole force, consisting of three thousand men, was captured (November 16), and an immense quantity of supplies fell into the hands of the British.

Fort Lee was abandoned and its garrison of two thousand men joined General Israel Putnam's force in New Jersey. Washington himself took command of this force of six thousand men, and, sending peremptory orders for General Charles Lee to follow and join him, with his troops, moved slowly south, seeking a strong position for the battle which he felt sure Howe would now hazard.

224. General Charles Lee.—Lee, upon whom Washington depended, proved unworthy. He had seen service in the English army, and, coming to America with Braddock, had served through the French war. He was now second in command. Could he by delay or in any other manner compass the downfall of Washington, he was in line for immediate advancement to the head of the army. Sending flimsy excuses to Washington to account for his delay, he occupied himself in strengthening his position and in poisoning the public mind against the commander-in-chief, who by this time had begun to suffer from criticism incident to the loss of New York

and the two forts on the Hudson. Finally, under a positive order from Washington to join him immediately with all his troops, Lee set out leisurely with but half his force and was captured by the enemy when he had proceeded but a short distance. It is not known whether this was a part of a pre-arranged plan or not, but Lee's subsequent career seems to indicate that it was. He was taken as a prisoner to New York and while there held the confidence of General Howe, giving that general all the information he was possessed of concerning the American cause. Just before the evacuation of Philadelphia, of which we shall learn later, Lee was exchanged, and Washington, in ignorance of his true character, gave him his old command. Lee's action at the battle of Monmouth shortly after his exchange gives added color to the charge that his exchange was part of his plan to ruin the American cause if he could not rule it. Before the war closed he was cashiered from the army and passed the remainder of his days in obscurity and disgrace.

225. The Darkest Period of the War.—After the capture of Lee, Sullivan took command of his division. In the meantime Washington had retreated slowly toward the Delaware, being followed by a force double his number under the command of Lord Cornwallis, one of the fighting generals of the English army. The retreat was conducted with great skill, but so close were the two armies that bridges fired by the Americans would still be burning when the British arrived. With his usual forethought, Washington sent men ahead to collect all the boats on the Delaware river. With these boats he carried his army across the Delaware with such dispatch that when Cornwallis arrived the swollen Delaware lay between him and his prey. But as Washington lighted his fires on the opposite bank, it was in the midst of a gloom that would have crushed the spirit of an ordinary general. His little army had dwindled to less than three thousand men and many of these were not fit for duty. The patriot army was poorly fed and clothed because of the

mismanagement of the quartermaster's department. The army was unpaid because Congress had been unable to provide a stable currency in the face of so many disasters. Only the indomitable will and superb courage of Washington saved the cause from utter ruin.

226. Trenton—December 26, 1776: Princeton—Jan. 3, 1777.—It was in the midst of this despondency and gloom that a revelation of Washington's genius caused a flood of light and ecstasy of joy to sweep over the country. Cornwallis had disposed his troops comfortably in the several small towns along the Delaware, across from Washington's position. Here the British rested in fancied security, waiting for the river to freeze over, when they expected to cross and crush the American army. At Trenton, across from the patriot camp, was a body of one thousand Hessians. Burlington, further down, sheltered another force. One of the American divisions was to attack this latter force. Another was to cross directly to Trenton, landing below the village, while Washington, with two thousand five hundred troops, was to cross nine miles above and march down the east side of the Delaware. Boats were gathered for the purpose, and on Christmas Day all was ready. Ice was running in heavy flocs in the river and after several attempts, two of the divisions gave up the task of crossing the stream. Not so the dauntless commander. Receiving word as he was about to embark that the other divisions had returned, Washington seemed to take courage at their failure. Mid drifting snow and the ceaseless rush of ice, the boatmen worked manfully until Washington's entire division had reached the opposite bank. A swift march to Trenton, a sudden charge, the Hessian call to arms, the surrender—tell briefly the story of this brilliant exploit. Washington returned to camp with a thousand prisoners and with the loss of but four of his men.

Again crossing on the 29th of December, Washington occupied Trenton. Cornwallis soon confronted him there.

Washington's position was one of peril—a raging river was behind him, in front of him was a veteran army in the hands of a famous general. But Washington was equal to the occasion. Learning that Cornwallis had left part of his force at Princeton, he boldly lighted his campfires, and the two armies bivouacked for the night. Leaving a small force to keep up the fires, Washington marched silently around the British and in the morning fell with sudden fury on the detachment at Princeton, which he routed with great loss. Before Cornwallis could recover from his surprise, Washington withdrew into the hill country near Morristown, a strong position which guarded the Highlands on the Hudson and the roads to Philadelphia as well. Cornwallis recognized his danger at once and retreated in all haste to New Brunswick in order to preserve his communication with New York.

The effect of these brilliant achievements was to put new life into the languishing patriot cause. Washington was the hero of the hour. So great a military expert as Frederick the Great pronounced Washington's successes as among the most brilliant achievements of history. Supplies came in, the army was clothed and paid, and when the spring opened, hope had revived.

EVENTS OF 1777

227. Lafayette, Steuben, and other Foreign Patriots.—The Revolution had now passed the stage of a “mere rebellion by a band of insurgents,” as it had been characterized at first in England and on the continent. The brilliant work of Washington as a general was attracting wide attention and many able officers came from Europe to America, either to witness the conduct of the war or to engage actively in the service of the colonies. Of the latter class were Lafayette, Steuben, De Kalb, Kosciuszko, and Count Pulaski.

The Marquis de Lafayette was a young French nobleman whose love of liberty made him a firm friend of the colonies at the very beginning of the revolutionary struggle. He pos-

sessed a large fortune and gave liberally to the patriot cause. Finally, fitting out a ship with supplies for the American army, he himself came to the colonies to fight for American liberty. He was but nineteen years of age, but the conditions of his coming and his manly bearing convinced Washington that Lafayette could be intrusted with responsibility. The zeal with which he entered into the cause of the colonies led Congress to make him a major-general and give him a place in Washington's command, where he served with distinction throughout the remainder of the war.

Baron Steuben had seen service under the great Frederick. He joined the army during the terrible winter at Valley Forge and, by his vigorous methods and his talent as a drill-master, put new life and strength into the patriot cause.

Baron De Kalb, a French officer who had come to America with Lafayette, entered the army and did valiant service, especially in the southern campaign, where in one of the engagements he was mortally wounded.

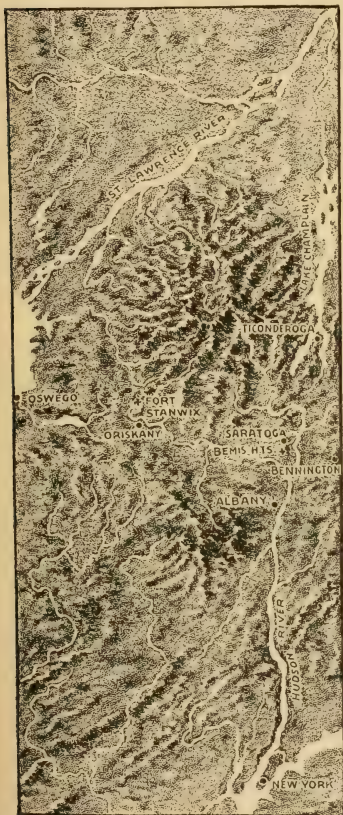
Kosciuszko was a young Polish officer who early joined the patriot cause. His principal service was rendered as an engineer, he having planned the fortifications at West Point.

Count Pulaski was another Polish officer who did valiant service at Brandywine and Charleston, receiving his death wound at the battle of Savannah.

228. British Plan of Attack—1777.—The British now resolved to possess the upper Hudson and Champlain regions and establish a line of communication from New York to Canada, thereby completely severing New England from the other colonies. A campaign of a threefold nature was therefore undertaken to carry out this plan. General Sir John Burgoyne was to lead an army from Canada by way of Lake Champlain; Major Barry St. Leger was to enter the Mohawk valley by way of Lake Ontario; and Howe was to move up the Hudson River. As soon as practicable, the three forces were to coöperate for the capture and overthrow of the American army of the north.

229. Burgoyne Starts.—Burgoyne's first great blunder was the enlistment of a horde of savages, who, as his army advanced, murdered friend and foe alike. Their atrocities drove the colonists to a frenzy and the whole countryside

rose against them and their English sponsors. This made it impossible for Burgoyne to secure supplies for his army as he advanced. He therefore had to keep up his line of communication from Canada, which greatly reduced his fighting force at the front. General Philip Schuyler commanded the patriot army in the Hudson valley. Not having sufficient force to meet the enemy in open battle, he adopted a policy that was ultimately successful. He slowly retreated before Burgoyne and when the portage between Lake George and the Hudson was reached, obstructed the roads by felling trees and burning bridges with such success that Burgoyne's army could advance but a mile a day. This gave time for Schuyler's army to recruit from the surrounding country.



230. The Battle of Bennington—August 16.—Supplies for the invading army were becoming scarce. Burgoyne learned that at Bennington in the Green Mountain country, was a patriot storehouse, and he detached Colonel Baum with a thousand Hessian troops, with instructions to capture the

place. Colonel John Stark assumed the command of the Americans of that region, but all he could muster was a little band of four hundred patriots. Colonel Stark's battle call has become famous: "There the Redcoats are, my boys. We must capture them ere night, or Mollie Stark will be a widow." In the battle that ensued over two hundred of the Hessians were killed and seven hundred captured.

231. St. Leger Meets with Disaster.—The British cause was further endangered by the total rout of the expedition under St. Leger who had proceeded down the Mohawk valley to attack the Americans at Fort Stanwix. While General Nicholas Herkimer was hastening to the relief of the besieged fort, he was ambuscaded at Oriskany by St. Leger's Tories and Indians. A bloody battle ensued, in which one third of those engaged were left dead upon the field. Herkimer with but a remnant of his followers was received into the inclosure of the fort. During the battle with Herkimer the brave company in the fort sallied forth and, driving off the British, captured their entire camp and supplies. Returning from Oriskany the British continued the siege. Benedict Arnold soon appeared upon the scene, whereupon St. Leger, deserted by his Indian allies, was forced to retreat.

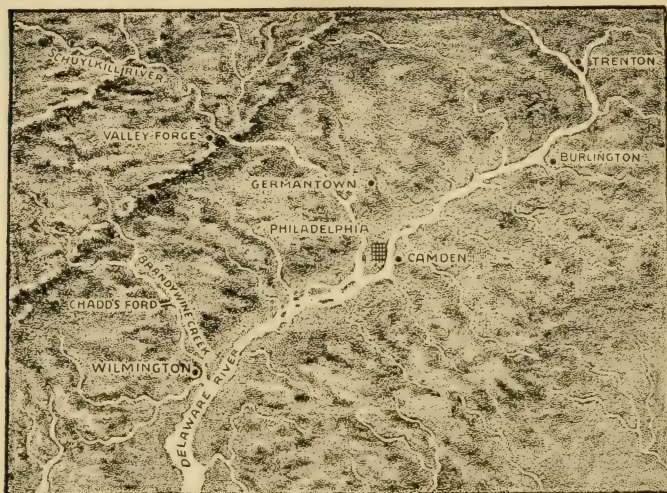
232. The Stars and Stripes.—When the American force made the sally from Fort Stanwix mentioned above it captured five British flags, which were at once hoisted upside down above the ramparts of the fort. High above them all there was flung to the breeze for the first time the Stars and Stripes—the new flag of the American Republic. Congress had voted on June 14, 1777, that the national flag should consist of thirteen horizontal red and white stripes—seven red and six white—with thirteen white stars in a circle on a blue field in the upper staff corner of the flag. None of the new flags having been issued to the army at the time, the Americans at Fort Stanwix hastily made one from a soldier's blue jacket, scraps of red flannel, and strips of an officer's white shirt. Prior to the adoption of the Stars and Stripes,

flags of various designs had been used by the different patriot armies. Washington used the new flag for the first time at the battle of Brandywine. The flag was changed in 1792 to fifteen stripes and fifteen stars on account of the admission of Vermont and Kentucky to the union. In 1818, when it was restored to thirteen stripes, it was voted that the number of stars in the blue field should equal the number of states in the Republic.

233. The Two Battles of Saratoga—Sept. 19 and Oct. 7: Burgoyne's Surrender—Oct. 17.—Burgoyne now had but one hope. Howe must come, and that quickly, or disaster would follow. Howe did not come, nor could Burgoyne even hear from him. Affairs grew worse daily in the British camp, as the Americans were now in sufficient force to give battle. Just at this moment occurred one of those events in army politics which sometimes disgrace the page of history. The patient, vigilant, resourceful General Schuyler, just ready to pluck the fruits of his consummate strategy, was superseded by General Horatio Gates. Schuyler's patriotism shines out on the pages of American history—he communicated to Gates every detail of his plan to capture the British army and remained with Gates to assist him in carrying out these plans. Burgoyne, now thoroughly beset, decided to try to fight his way southward, where he hoped to meet Howe. Crossing the Hudson, Burgoyne attacked the Americans in their strongly intrenched position at Bemis Heights, and the first battle of Saratoga ensued (Sept. 19). After a fierce engagement Burgoyne was compelled to withdraw. Three weeks passed, and as aid promised by Howe still failed to come, Burgoyne decided to try to break through the American lines. The British attacked desperately, but they were so outnumbered by the American army that they were forced to retire (Oct. 7). Burgoyne now attempted to retreat, but on reaching the river he found all the fords strongly guarded. The Americans were pressing him eagerly on every side, his supplies were gone, and nothing

was left to him but to surrender his entire army, comprising nearly six thousand men. This surrender occurred on the 17th of October. The defeat of one of her ablest generals and of an army of her best troops humiliated England beyond measure and correspondingly raised the hopes of the colonies. France, pleased with the result, soon openly espoused the cause of the colonies and the French alliance followed.

234. Battle of Brandywine — Sept. 11: Philadelphia Taken.—It was the last of June and Burgoyne's expedition,



PHILADELPHIA AND VICINITY

just started, was moving southward from Canada with but little opposition, when Howe made a fatal error by acting on the advice of his prisoner, Charles Lee. He moved south against Washington instead of assisting Burgoyne's expedition as originally planned. The following of Lee's advice by Howe resulted, as we have just seen, in the loss to the British government of an army of ten thousand men, the disaffection of a large number of Indian allies, the surrender of the control of a vast extent of territory, and further in the secur-

ing to the American republic its recognition as an independent nation by the French government. Fearing that Washington might strike him at an unfavorable point if he marched overland, Howe embarked his army on the fleet and sailed for Philadelphia by way of Chesapeake Bay. He consumed nearly two months in the voyage, and when he landed his troops at the head of Chesapeake Bay found Washington in his front. The American commander retreated slowly before Howe's advance. Finally taking position on Brandywine Creek on the 11th of September, he met the British in the battle of Brandywine, which was a British victory, dearly bought. Two weeks later Howe entered Philadelphia.

235. Germantown—Oct. 4.—The greater part of the British army was encamped about Germantown, a village six miles from Philadelphia, and Washington planned an attack on it. On the night of October 4, separating his army into four divisions, he closed in on the enemy by four different roads. The British were yielding on all sides, when one of their divisions took a position at a stone house which offered excellent opportunity for defence. During the delay occasioned by the stubborn resistance at this point, two divisions of the American army met, and, a dense fog preventing recognition, engaged in a pitched battle. Before the mistake was discovered the Americans were seized with a panic, whereupon the British, recovering themselves, compelled Washington to withdraw.

236. The Winter at Valley Forge.—Washington then went into winter quarters at Valley Forge, a point on the west side of the Schuylkill River, twenty miles from Philadelphia, as the most available place from which to watch Howe. That winter was a most severe one, and Howe, always an indolent general, was well content to remain in his comfortable quarters in Philadelphia. It was fortunate for the Americans that no active field operations were required, for they were scantily clothed and had but few supplies save those secured from the country roundabout. Intense suffering was the

portion of all, even the officers having the scantiest of fare. As in prosperity, so in adversity, the commander-in-chief of the army shared in its fortunes. He remained in the camp the entire winter, giving encouragement and counsel to all and keeping the men as busy as possible, that they might forget their sufferings. The bitterness of this period was made the greater to Washington from the fact that he knew it was due to the culpable neglect and mismanagement on the part of the commissary department. There was an abundance in the country to clothe and to feed the army. Washington did no greater service during the entire war than in holding the suffering patriot army together during this terrible winter.

EVENTS OF 1778

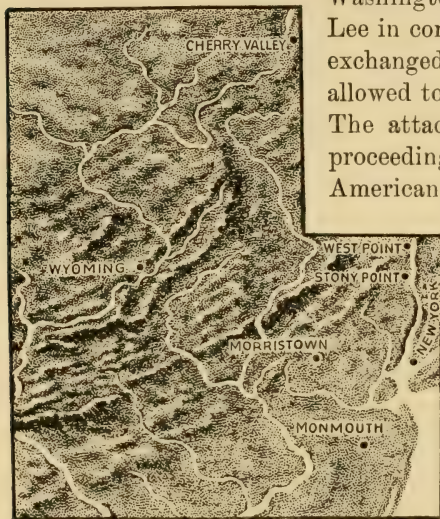
237. The Conway Cabal.—This period of the war was one of discontent in both the army and in Congress, and was seized upon by ambitious and designing men as an opportune time to molest and annoy the commander-in-chief. Washington had lost the Philadelphia campaign. Gates was the hero of the hour on account of Burgoyne's surrender, though the truth was that he deserved little credit. Congress, unfortunately, was full of politicians that winter, who failed to grasp the situation, or measure up to its requirements; and, shame be it said, laid all the blame on Washington. In this atmosphere a cabal was formed against Washington by a number of his subordinate officers with the purpose of deposing him from command and putting Gates in his place. Conway, the jealous inspector-general; Gates, the selfish schemer; Mifflin, the incompetent quartermaster-general, and a few others, were the leading conspirators. Owing to the popularity of Washington with the people, and to the foolish blunders made by these unworthy officers, the cabal failed utterly. It was met by the people with such a storm of indignation that all who could, hastened to deny connection with it.

238. France Acknowledges the Independence of the United States of America—Feb. 6: The French Alliance.—From the very beginning of the war the colonies had had the sympathy of the French, who were pleased to be afforded an opportunity to harass their old enemy, the English. But the French, while they had in secret greatly aided the American cause, could not be persuaded to acknowledge the independence of the colonies nor to aid them openly until it should become apparent to the French government that the colonies when thus supported by France could win in the struggle against the English. After the capture of Burgoyne's army the French king felt that the time had come to deal England a blow. He therefore, early in February, acknowledged the independence of the United States of America. In the treaty which followed between France and the young republic it was agreed that neither party should make peace with England without the consent of the other. The French government had already made a large loan to the colonies. It now increased this loan and promised a fleet and four thousand troops at once. The alliance not only increased the fighting strength of the army, but strengthened the financial credit of the United States, as well. The French alliance was largely due to the influence of Benjamin Franklin at the French court. Franklin was the great diplomat of the Revolution.

239. England Offers All but Independence.—England, still suffering from the humiliation caused by the Burgoyne surrender, sought to stay the alliance, but her efforts were in vain. She offered peace, everything but independence, if the colonies would but renounce the alliance; but neither Congress nor Washington would listen to England's appeal.

240. Clinton Evacuates Philadelphia: Battle of Monmouth—June 28.—As soon as Sir Henry Clinton, who had succeeded Howe, heard of the departure of the French fleet for America, he decided to abandon Philadelphia, lest New York should be captured by the combined armies. In the

latter part of June, 1778, he took up his march for New York through New Jersey. Washington was loth to allow Clinton to reach New York without striking his army a blow. He therefore set the American army in motion and, keeping abreast of the British on parallel roads, watched for an opportunity. It presented itself at Monmouth, where Clinton turned east, leaving the van of his army exposed. Washington detached six thousand men and sent them against this body. Unfortunately for the success of the venture,



Washington put General Charles Lee in command. Lee had been exchanged in April, and was allowed to claim his old position. The attack was begun and was proceeding most favorably to the Americans when Lee ordered a retreat, and confusion soon reigned. But Washington, receiving word of the retreat, rode in hot haste to the field, and after reprimanding Lee severely, rallied the troops and saved the day. It was a drawn battle, the

British continuing on their way to New York. Lee's disgraceful conduct proved his undoing. He was court-martialed, suspended from the service for a year, and later dismissed from the army.

241. Wyoming Massacre—July 3.—Wyoming Valley was a fertile frontier valley in Pennsylvania which had been settled largely by people from Connecticut. Most of their fighting force had enlisted in the patriot cause, and when the Tory leader, Major Butler, and his Indians appeared in the

valley in July there were but a few boys and aged men to oppose him. The inhabitants had been warned of Butler's approach and a force of two hundred and thirty brave souls had finally gathered. The odds were too great and the settlers were soon overwhelmed. The scalps of all but three of the brave little band dangled from Indian girdles before the night closed on the horrible butchery. Cherry Valley, in New York, also suffered heavily at the hands of the Tories and Indians under the leadership of the noted Joseph Brant, chief of the Mohawk Indians.

The next year a force under General Sullivan completely routed the Indians, and the frontier was thus relieved for a time of a terrible scourge.

242. Sullivan and the French Fail at Newport.—The promised French force, consisting of a fleet with some four thousand soldiers, arrived early in the summer of 1778. The British had collected a considerable force at Newport. Accordingly, great preparations were made for a combined attack there. Sullivan was put in command of the land forces, and everything pointed to success. During the last days of July the French fleet, under Count d'Estaing, appeared and the attack was about to begin when operations were interrupted by the appearance of the English fleet under Admiral Howe. A halt was called and the French commander put to sea for the purpose of engaging the English fleet.

Just as the engagement was about to begin, a severe storm arose, partially wrecking both fleets. The French fleet went to Boston for repairs and Howe returned to New York. It being harvest time, the militia refused to remain, and thus Sullivan found himself unable to push the siege.

243. Savannah Captured: Georgia Retaken by the British.—The last event of the year 1778 was the capture in December of Savannah by three thousand British under Sir Archibald Campbell. The city of Savannah and the whole province of Georgia thus fell into the hands of the British,

and the royal governor, who had been deposed by the colonists, was now reinstated.

EVENTS OF 1779

244. Paul Jones and the Navy.—During the Revolution the navy was a source of great strength to the American cause. Not, however, the navy as it is known to-day. The navy of the Revolution consisted of a few ships of as large dimensions as were built in those days, and a vast number of smaller craft owned by private individuals. It is estimated that seventy thousand Americans served on board ship during



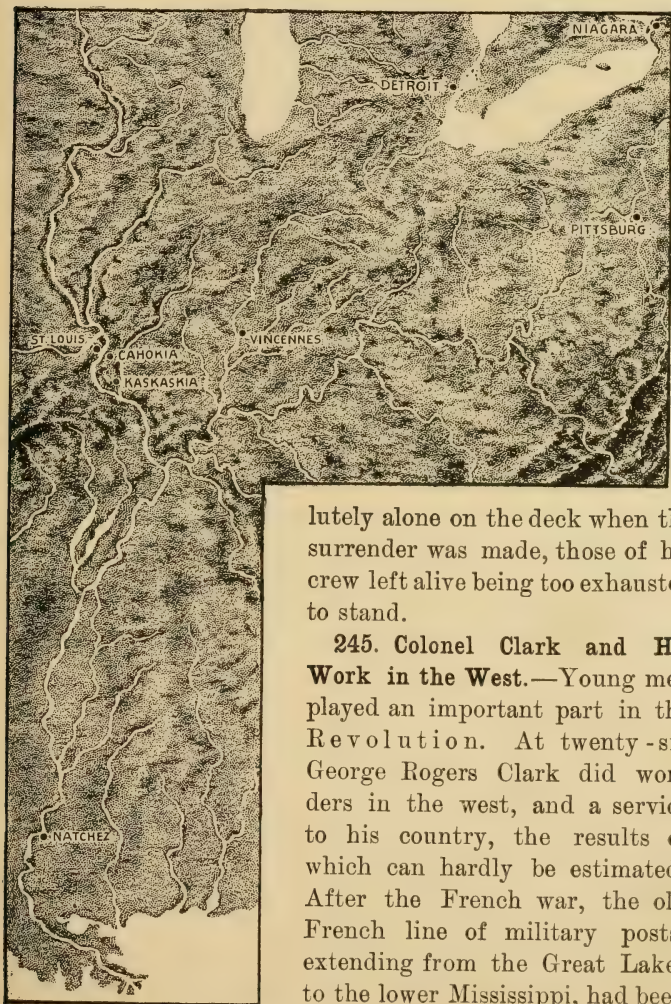
SHIPS OF THE PERIOD

the Revolution, as against forty-seven thousand on land. In the first year of the war Congress began the construction of a navy, and thirteen frigates were built. Some of these greatly harassed the enemy for a while, but the strength and vigilance of the British navy

at last proved too great for them, so that by 1781 all these frigates had been captured or destroyed. The service of the smaller craft was felt in the privateering expeditions which were carried on with untiring zeal by the American sailors—the commerce of England suffering the loss of millions by their activity.

The most noted of the regularly commissioned officers of the navy was Paul Jones. In September of 1779, he was put in command of a small fleet and soon fell in with a fleet of merchantmen under the protection of the *Serapis* and another vessel. With his own ship, the *Bon Homme Richard*, he engaged the *Serapis*. The sailing qualities of the *Serapis* being superior to the *Richard*, Jones closed with his antagonist and lashed the two vessels together. In the desperate hand-to-hand fight which then ensued, nearly half the force engaged

was killed or wounded. Both ships were on fire and the *Richard* was sinking, when the British colors were struck. Both combatants exhibited the very sublimity of courage. It is said that Captain Pearson of the *Serapis* stood abso-



lutely alone on the deck when the surrender was made, those of his crew left alive being too exhausted to stand.

245. Colonel Clark and His Work in the West.—Young men played an important part in the Revolution. At twenty-six George Rogers Clark did wonders in the west, and a service to his country, the results of which can hardly be estimated. After the French war, the old French line of military posts, extending from the Great Lakes to the lower Mississippi, had been

occupied by the English and strongly garrisoned at all important points. Through the influence of Governor Patrick Henry of Virginia, Clark was granted permission to organize an expedition having for its object nothing less than the wresting of the entire region beyond the Alleghanies from the control of the British. Proceeding in the early summer of 1779 to the mouth of the Ohio, he left his boats and marched overland to the British posts of Kaskaskia and Cahokia, both of which places surrendered without resistance. Colonel Hamilton, in command of the British post at Detroit, now heard of Clark's operations, and with the idea of putting a stop to them, he early in the winter occupied a former British outpost at Vincennes. Here Clark attacked him in February, after a most difficult overland march, and forced his surrender. An American expedition from Pittsburg in the meantime having taken the post of Natchez, on the lower Mississippi, the whole region was now in the hands of the Americans. Colonel Clark then met the Indians in council and convinced them that their best interests demanded the cultivation of the friendship of the new republic. When the treaty was made in 1783, Clark's successful occupation of that region secured the Mississippi as the western boundary of the United States.

246. Slow Progress of the War: "Mad Anthony" Wayne at Stony Point—July 15.—There were few military movements of consequence undertaken during 1779. England was engaged in a "battle royal" with several nations openly, and she had incurred the enmity of nearly every nation of Europe. Ireland, also, was restless, and gave her much concern. She could therefore spare no troops for large movements. On his part, Washington, had to be content with keeping Clinton shut up in New York, and strengthening the fortifications on the Hudson River. In the early spring he determined to fortify Stony Point, a rocky promontory admirably situated to command the river. But Clinton also had designs on the same position, and, sending a strong force

up the river in May, the Americans were compelled to retire. Washington at once planned its capture. One of his most trusted generals, "Mad Anthony" Wayne, so called by the soldiers because of his daring bravery, was given command of twelve hundred picked troops and asked to capture Stony Point. The plan involved the secret passage of the marsh at low tide under cover of darkness, then a swift bayonet charge up the hill. On the night of July 15 a friendly negro huckster, who had access to the fort, was used by Wayne to secure the capture of the British pickets. His whole force then crossed the intervening marsh and was swarming up the hill before the British were aware of Wayne's presence. The rush of Wayne's men was irresistible, and after a few minutes of bloody work in the trenches the fort was surrendered.

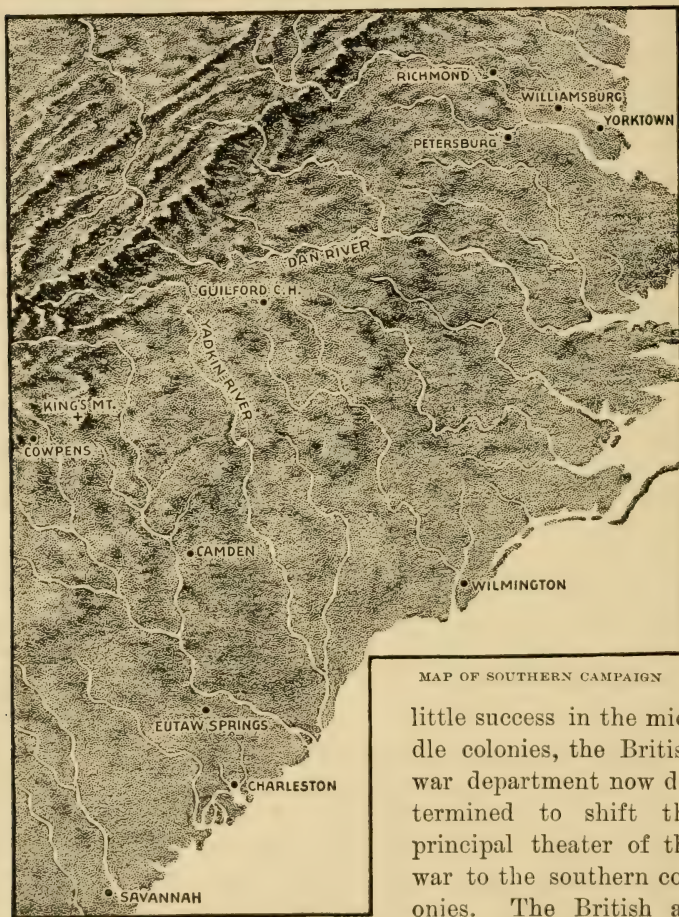
247. Paulus Hook—August 18.—Among the smaller successes of the patriots this year, none was more daring than that of "Light Horse Harry" Lee, at Paulus Hook, New Jersey.

This point was well within the British lines on the New Jersey coast, and was rather carelessly guarded by a small force. Lee having worked his way within the British lines, ordered a charge at the moment of discovery and the fort was captured, with all its garrison. Though its immediate evacuation was necessary, Lee brought off his men and prisoners with the loss of but two men killed and three wounded.

248. Lincoln and the French Fail at Savannah.—General Benjamin Lincoln had been sent south to direct operations against the British. In conjunction with the French fleet, he, in September, attempted to recapture Savannah. His attack, though spirited, met with a bloody repulse. D'Estaing and Lincoln withdrew, leaving Georgia in the possession of the British. The close of the year 1779 thus found the British in possession of but three important points on the coast—New York, Newport, and Savannah.

EVENTS OF 1780

249. The British in the South.—Failing to crush the rebellion in the northern colonies, and having met with but



little success in the middle colonies, the British war department now determined to shift the principal theater of the war to the southern colonies. The British already held Georgia and

were encouraged in the belief that the large Tory element in the Carolinas would make the subjugation of those colo-

nies an easy matter. But as usual, they "reckoned without their host,"—none of the colonists were more loyal than the Carolinians.

250. Charleston Captured—May 12.—Clinton himself came to take charge of operations in the south, bringing a fleet and large reinforcements. Washington had sent General Benjamin Lincoln to help the southern patriots. Lincoln garrisoned Charleston with a force of seven thousand men and attempted to hold that point against Clinton's superior force, aided by the British fleet. After sustaining a forty days' siege, Lincoln was compelled to surrender his whole army.

Clinton then returned north, leaving Cornwallis in command. Cornwallis now issued a proclamation which required the inhabitants to declare themselves friends or foes. This proclamation precipitated a fierce partisan warfare in the Carolinas. Sir Bannastre Tarleton, a British cavalry commander, began a campaign of devastation. He was so vindictive and so cruel toward all Americans who were so unfortunate as to fall into his hands that the whole south became aroused, and before the British were aware, another American army was in the field.

251. Gates in Command: Battle of Camden—August 16.—General Horatio Gates was now sent south to take charge of the American armies there. He found in North Carolina the nucleus of an army, which gained in numbers as he marched south; however, many of his troops were raw militia. Camden, South Carolina, had been selected by the British as a point from which to operate. Gates determined to capture that point, but he delayed the attack so long that Cornwallis was able to bring up reinforcements from Charleston. Even then the British force was much smaller than the American, though all were veterans. When ten miles from Camden, Gates went into camp for two days, while reconnoitering the position of the enemy. He finally moved to the attack, making a night march. Cornwallis had determined

on the same tactics. When the two armies met they lay on their arms until morning, when the battle ensued. Gates foolishly placed his raw militia at the front. They became panic stricken at the outset, and soon the whole army, save the Maryland regulars under the brave Baron De Kalb, who fell mortally wounded, was in headlong flight. Gates himself fled at the head of his troops, and it is said did not pause in his wild flight for seventy miles. This ended the military career of that scheming officer. He was at once succeeded in command by Nathaniel Greene, one of the best generals in the army, whose brilliant work soon brought success to the American cause in the south.

252. The Yeomanry at King's Mountain—October 7.—The British again had full sway in South Carolina and they continued to annoy the Americans. As long as they carried on their operations in the low country, they were comparatively free from resistance, but as they went into the hill country and toward the mountains, they frequently met with determined opposition. Major Patrick Ferguson had been sent into the highlands on the border of the two states with a small British force, Cornwallis believing that 'the Tories would join Ferguson on the march. Instead of being joined by Tories, Ferguson was met by an army of southern patriots—a large number of whom had come from the west slope of the Blue Ridge. They were hunters and trappers in picturesque costume—each man was a sharpshooter. By the time the British had reached King's Mountain, three thousand Americans were on their trail and Ferguson was brought to bay. The fight was as picturesque as the participants. Ferguson took position on the side of the mountain, where he found strong natural intrenchments of rock and tree. He was at once surrounded by the yeoman army, who were masters at this kind of fighting. Ferguson at last fell, mortally wounded, and the British surrendered.

253. Partisan Leaders—Marion, Sumter, Pickens, and Lee.—Partisan warfare is always merciless because so much of

personal enmity is woven into it. There was little of it in New England, but in New York, New Jersey, and South Carolina, it was carried on with a bitterness which threatened at times to exterminate whole communities. From the beginning of the war there had been much of it in South Carolina, for there had always been a feeling of animosity existing between the aristocratic planter of the low country and the small farmer of the hill country. There were hotbeds of Toryism in the low country, but patriotism was correspondingly strong among the hills—whence came leaders like Francis Marion, Thomas Sumter, Andrew Pickens, and Henry Lee, of infinite energy and with a zeal in the cause born of personal wrongs endured. Around each of them was gathered a band of kindred spirits, who knew no fear, and who courted danger. When the American army was in their vicinity, they attached themselves to it as scouts and spies, for they knew every secret road and by-path. When the army was driven out, they stayed, and from their fastnesses in the swamps or in the mountains fell upon small parties of the British, or visited dire punishment on Tories who had been active in giving assistance to the British. These partisan bands greatly aided General Greene in his reclaiming of the south from the British.

254. Benedict Arnold.—Hardly had the rattle of musketry ceased on the now classic field of Lexington, before Benedict Arnold was in the saddle and at the head of a company of students was off for Boston. He did valiant service at Ticonderoga, and at the storming of Quebec. At the first battle of Saratoga, where he was severely wounded, his bravery excelled that of all others. He had suffered untold hardships in the defence of his country. No single general in all the service excelled his brilliant record. Had he died of his wounds, the name of Arnold would have been bright on the page of history.

255. Arnold at Philadelphia.—Arnold was appointed by Washington to the command of the military district of

Philadelphia, where he was thrown much into the society of the Tory element, and yielded to unpatriotic influences. He became extravagant, and in order to discharge his private debts, committed indiscretions in the use of the public property under his control. He was tried before a military court on the charge of dishonesty, but there being little proof to sustain the charge, it was required only that he receive a reprimand from the commander-in-chief. This Washington gave in a most considerate manner.

Arnold, feeling that his services to his country had not been appreciated, and deeply offended by the sentence of the court, resolved on revenge.

256. West Point and Treason.—At his own request Arnold was transferred to West Point and immediately opened negotiations with General Clinton at New York, for the purpose of betraying into the hands of the British this, the strongest military fortification under American control. As a personal interview was necessary, Clinton sent Major André, a young man of most excellent character and high standing in the British army, to represent him. At this meeting Arnold delivered to André the plans of the fortifications. Secreting these plans in his boot André set out on his return. He had passed through the most hostile part of the country, and would soon have been within the British lines, when, unluckily for him, he was noticed by several patriots, who insisted on a search of his person, and finding the papers, pronounced him a spy. André offered them a large reward if they would allow him to pass, but they laughed at his offer and immediately gave him up to an American officer. Arnold, learning of the arrest, escaped down the river to the British sloop *Vulture*.

257. The Fate of André.—Major André was tried by a military tribunal of twelve of the most experienced generals in the American army. General Greene was made chairman and Lafayette also served on this board. André was sentenced to meet the death of a spy. On account of

André's prominence in army and social life, the British put forth every effort possible to have the sentence commuted, but to no avail. Unlike the treatment accorded Captain Nathan Hale, he was allowed every privilege consistent with army discipline, but the sentence was carried out in due time.

258. Arnold's Subsequent Career.—"Let me die in this old uniform—the uniform in which I fought my battles. May God forgive me for ever putting on any other." This was a sentiment uttered by Benedict Arnold on his death-bed in London twenty-one years later. The British had paid the price of his treason,—nearly thirty thousand dollars and the rank of brigadier-general in the British army. He received, as he merited, the execrations of all men of honor, and though he is said to have met it with a certain degree of bravado for a time, he gradually withdrew from the society of men, became morose and cynical, and died a friendless and despised outcast.

EVENTS OF 1781

259. Morgan Defeats Tarleton at the Cowpens—January 17.—Upon arriving in the south General Greene was confronted by the complete demoralization of an army due to the Camden disaster and the flight of Gates. Greene sent General Daniel Morgan into the hill country for recruits, who while thus engaged was attacked by Tarleton with a superior force at the Cowpens. Morgan by superior tactics completely routed Tarleton, who took to flight after suffering the almost complete destruction of his army.

260. Greene Recovers the Carolinas and Georgia.—There now began one of the most famous campaigns of the war, each army being led by generals of consummate tact and skill. Cornwallis pushed rapidly forward to strike Morgan before he could rejoin Greene, but Morgan was too quick for Cornwallis and escaped to the north of the Yadkin. Here he was joined by Greene, who now assumed command, and

a retreat was begun. Reaching the fords of the Dan before his pursuer, Greene crossed into Virginia. Cornwallis now gave up the chase and turned back with the idea of drawing Greene after him. Having attained his object of drawing the British army away from its base of supplies into a hostile country, General Greene recrossed the Dan and at Guilford Courthouse the two armies met in battle on March 15. It resulted in a drawn battle, the six hundred which Cornwallis lost the first day weakening him to the extent that he could not renew the fight. Cornwallis then marched directly to Wilmington. After ascertaining that the British general really intended to give up the contest, Greene turned south. During the summer, with the aid of the partisan bands, he drove the British into Charleston and Savannah, winning many small engagements and the more considerable one at Eutaw Springs. Thus Greene had reclaimed the south, practically clearing the Carolinas and Georgia of the British army in less than a year.

261. Lafayette, "The Boy," Outgenerals Cornwallis and Saves Virginia.—Cornwallis entered Virginia in May and began the same tactics with Lafayette which had failed so signally with Greene. But "the boy," as the British commander was pleased to call Lafayette, handled his little army with such skill that he completely baffled his pursuer. General Clinton, now thoroughly alarmed at the turn affairs had taken in the south, sent orders to Cornwallis to fortify some point on the Virginia coast from which he could coöperate with the British fleet. Cornwallis accordingly selected Yorktown and began erecting defences at that point. Lafayette notified Washington of Cornwallis's position, and threw his own troops across the neck of the peninsula in front of Yorktown.

With Virginia saved by Lafayette and the Carolinas and Georgia reclaimed by Greene, the British had signally failed in their subjugation of the southern colonies.

262. Battle of Yorktown—October 19.—Washington in

the meantime had been keeping Clinton shut up in New York, and was ready for whatever opportunity might offer to strike the British a blow. On learning that Cornwallis was at Yorktown, Washington conceived the daring idea of capturing the entire British army at that point. Of this he felt sanguine, for he had just received word that a large French fleet had set sail from the West Indies and that its destination was the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, where it was sure to encounter the British fleet before Yorktown. Selecting two thousand of his choicest colonial troops, and accompanied by Rochambeau with his four thousand French troops, Washington began the march overland to Yorktown. By making feints toward the enemy while marching through New Jersey, he so concealed his intentions from Clinton that Philadelphia was reached before his destination was suspected by the British commander-in-chief. Shortly after leaving Philadelphia Washington had received news that the French fleet under De Grasse had already met the English fleet before Yorktown where it had coöperated with Lafayette so that the British were entrapped on both the land and water side.

The fate of Cornwallis was sealed. Washington now hastened to Yorktown and began the siege. Cornwallis made several attempts to break through the lines, but failing, he at last surrendered his entire force. On the 19th of October, to the music of "The World Upside Down," the British marched out between the French and American lines.

263. Yorktown, and its Effect in America.—The news of the capture of Cornwallis at Yorktown passed through the colonies like an electric shock. There was great rejoicing, for all felt that it was the end of the struggle. In Philadel-



YORKTOWN AND VICINITY

phia, the people went wild with delight as they heard the cry of the watchman, "Two o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken." Congress marched in a body to the Lutheran church and listened to prayers of thanksgiving for the victory; while England's prime minister, Lord North, threw up his hands with the wail, "It's all over; it's all over."

END OF THE STRUGGLE

264. Yorktown and its Effect on the British.—The effect of the Yorktown victory on the British was advantageous to the American cause. The American war had steadily grown in unpopularity among the English people. Charles Fox had referred to Howe's victory in the battle of Long Island as the "terrible news from Long Island," and on the floor of parliament had spoken of Washington's army as "our army." Burke had expressed the hope that the Americans would succeed, and the great Pitt had declared that if he were an American he would never submit.

A strong party in parliament now opposed the further prosecution of the war. Peace resolutions were introduced in the House of Commons, and though opposed by the power of the king and his ministry, were successfully passed. This movement forced Lord North to resign, and a new ministry was formed, in which the great Burke, Charles Fox, and Richard Sheridan appeared as friends of the colonies.

Hereupon Sir Guy Carleton, who had succeeded Sir Henry Clinton, was instructed by parliament to open peace negotiations. This offer of peace, like previous offers, still referred to the American states as "revolted colonies," and sought to place the matter in such shape that the king could negotiate with each colony separately. Congress promptly refused to consider the offer and "the several states passed resolutions expressing their objection to separate negotiations, and declaring those to be enemies to America who should attempt to treat without the authority of Congress."

265. Parliament Overrules King George.—King George now insisted on carrying on the war, but the peace party in parliament set itself squarely in opposition to the king by declaring that “the House of Commons would consider as enemies to his Majesty and the country, all who would advise or attempt a further prosecution of offensive war on the continent of North America.”

266. England Acknowledges the Independence of the United States—November 30, 1782.—From this defiance of the king it was but a step to the acknowledgment of the United States as a separate government among the nations of the world. This the new British ministry did, sending a representative to Paris to join with the American peace commissioners—John Jay, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Henry Laurens—in a preliminary treaty of peace.

267. Cessation of Hostilities by Proclamation—April 19, 1783.—Hostilities in America had practically ceased after the Yorktown victory. It is true, however, that in the south, as well as in some sections of New York, and on the western border, a state of desultory war had been kept up between partisan bands of Americans and the Tory element, aided by small detachments of British soldiers. All this, however, ceased as news of the peace preliminaries reached America, when both Washington and Sir Guy Carleton were directed to proclaim a cessation of hostilities on land and sea. This Carleton soon did, and Washington followed on the 19th of April, 1783—the eighth anniversary of the battle of Lexington.

268. The Treaty of Paris—September 3, 1783.—Two years had now passed since Yorktown, and yet peace had not been formally declared. France and Spain, hoping to gain the advantage over Great Britain, had been purposely prolonging the peace parley. France was also striving to fix the boundaries of the new republic to correspond to the boundaries established by the Quebec Act.

However, England having gained a decided victory over

the French fleet in the West Indies, and having defeated a combined French and Spanish assault upon Gibraltar, these two nations became alarmed, and early in January agreed to preliminaries at Versailles. This opened the way for the settlement of the whole matter, and on September 3, 1783, the formal treaty of peace between Great Britain and the United States was signed at Paris.

The treaty contained the following provisions:

(1.) Great Britain recognized the independence of the United States.

(2.) The boundaries of the new republic were to extend to the Mississippi on the west, and from Nova Scotia, the St. Lawrence River, and the Great Lakes on the north, to the Spanish province of Florida on the south—Great Britain having by separate treaty with Spain ceded Florida to that power.

(3.) The United States was accorded the right of fishing on the Canadian and Newfoundland coasts.

(4.) Congress was to recommend to the state legislatures that they restore civil rights to all Tories and make payment for all Tory property confiscated during the war.

(5.) American merchants were to pay all debts contracted with British merchants prior to the war.

(6.) So far as the two powers could control, the Mississippi River was to be forever open for free navigation to the citizens of both countries.

(7.) And, lastly, it was agreed that the king would, with all convenient speed, and without causing any destruction, or carrying away any negroes or other property of the American inhabitants, withdraw all his armies, garrisons, and fleets from the United States.

269. The American Army Disbands: the British Army Withdraws.—Thus the American Revolution was accomplished. Early in November the American army was disbanded—only a remnant under General Knox remaining. The French army had embarked for France the previous year. In

accordance with the provisions of the treaty, Sir Guy Carleton, on the 25th of November, 1783, withdrew the last remnant of the British army from the shores of America—excepting a few troops stationed on the western border. On the same day General Knox and his veteran army entered New York amidst the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells and the rejoicing of the populace. The day was long observed in New York as “Evacuation Day.”

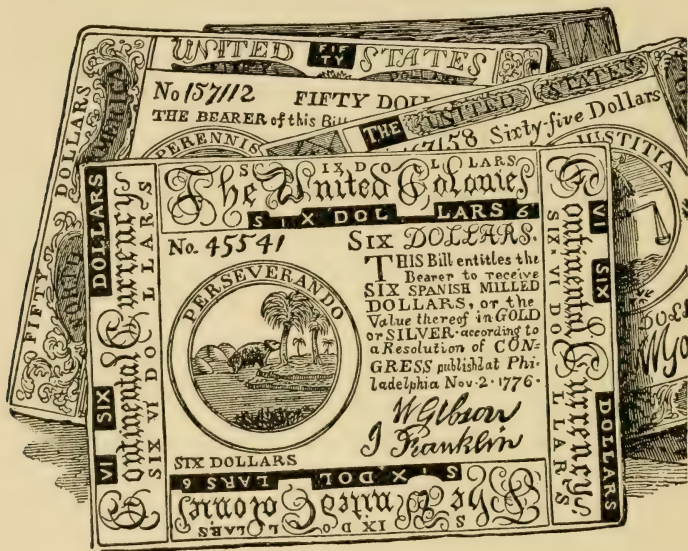
Nine days later, Washington, in an affecting scene, bade farewell to his officers and immediately repaired to Annapolis, Maryland, where Congress was in session, and returned to that body his commission as commander-in-chief of the American armies. Three weeks later he retired to private life on his estate at Mount Vernon.

FINANCES OF THE REVOLUTION

270. Cost of the War.—The independence of the United States had been gained at a heavy cost of both blood and treasure. Forty thousand American lives had been sacrificed, and an equal number of British. Over and above the amount spent by France (\$90,000,000) the war had cost the United States \$150,000,000, as opposed to \$500,000,000 spent by England. At the close of the war the entire country was burdened with debt, and commerce and business everywhere were demoralized. Even private morals had suffered a serious decline.

271. Congress and the Army.—So heavy had its burdens become that Congress found itself at times unable to pay its soldiers, who often threatened mutiny, and on more than one occasion broke out in open revolt. At the time of the disbanding of the army, the most serious difficulties arose. Both men and officers were clamorous for their pay; mutiny was again threatened and a secret proposal to march to Philadelphia and demand satisfaction of Congress, was circulated. The whole affair threw the country into intense excitement—even threatening civil war. Congress was

unpopular with the army, which was now on the point of refusing to disband unless its pay were advanced. A crisis was averted only through the prompt action of Washington, whose great influence alone brought about a satisfactory understanding between congress and the army. The whole affair, however, greatly humiliated all patriotic Americans, and served to call attention early to the inability of congress



CONTINENTAL CURRENCY

under the form of government then existing in the states, to conduct the financial affairs of the republic.

272. Continental Currency and Its Collapse—1780.—Congress during the war issued \$200,000,000 or more in paper money, with the result that the country soon became flooded with this “continental currency,” which rapidly depreciated in value. In 1779 twenty dollars in paper equaled but one in specie—six months later it dropped to forty. Congress tried to stop this decline, but to no avail.

At the close of the year 1780 this paper was worth but two cents on the dollar; later, ten dollars in currency equaled but one cent in specie.

"Not worth a continental," became a byword in the colonies—paper money having fallen into such contempt. Washington naively remarked that it took a wagon-load of money to buy a wagon-load of provisions. "In Boston, corn sold for \$150 a bushel, butter for \$12 a pound, tea \$90, sugar \$10, beef \$8, coffee \$12, and a barrel of flour for \$1,575. Samuel Adams paid \$2,000 for a hat and suit of clothes."

"Continental currency" became a joke in the colonies. A barber in Philadelphia papered his shop with it, and a wag in that city caught a stray dog, and, bedaubing him with tar, stuck bills of various denominations all over him, and paraded him in the streets. Before the close of 1780 the currency had ceased to circulate, public credit was gone, and trade was at a standstill—and yet the American army had been paid in just such money. The country was in need of a financier to save it from bankruptcy.

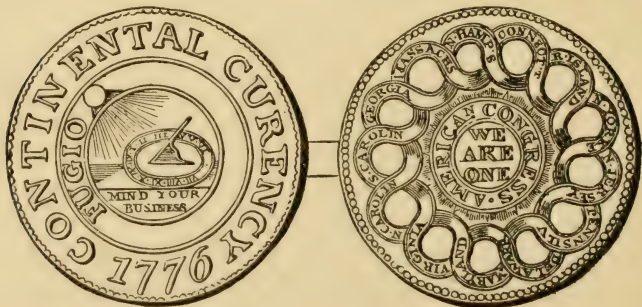
273. Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance.—"That the government had in any way been able to finish the war, after the downfall of its paper currency, in 1780, was due to the gigantic efforts of one great man—Robert Morris of Pennsylvania." Made superintendent of finance in 1781, Morris at once set about to organize the finances on a sound basis. Recognizing the peril the country was in, he grandly arose to the occasion, using his own private means to keep the army supplied and the country from bankruptcy.

He had long served on the congressional committee, which had to provide for the raising of money. It was he who had raised money for Washington's Trenton campaign and who had contributed largely from his own private funds to relieve the sufferings of the army at Valley Forge. Taking advantage of his own unlimited credit, he now procured the establishment of the Bank of North America (1781), through which loans might be negotiated; and successfully

carried the war forward from the campaign beginning at the Cowpens to the final struggle at Yorktown.

France had made numerous loans to the colonies, and in 1781 she made another loan. Morris, a few months later, secured, through the efforts of John Adams, minister to Holland, a loan from that country. Both these loans came into the country in the form of specie, which enabled the superintendent of finance to conduct the financial affairs of the government in terms of specie, and to keep paper money out of circulation.

By his sound business methods he was able to reduce the expenses of the army, and when the war closed he reduced the expenditures of the government to the very lowest scale. In spite of opposition in congress, he introduced a system of taxation which bore fruit. Under him, American credit rapidly rose both at home and abroad. As the financier of the Revolution, he rendered a service to his country which cannot be estimated—without which neither Greene's campaign in the south, nor Washington's campaign against Yorktown, nor the successful disbanding of the army could have been accomplished. He recognized the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation, and, seeing that congress could not carry out the reforms which he contemplated, he resigned his position at the close of the year 1784.



FIRST MONEY COINED BY THE UNITED STATES



JOHN MARSHALL
JAMES MADISON

DANIEL WEBSTER
ALEXANDER HAMILTON

MAKERS AND INTERPRETERS OF THE CONSTITUTION

CHAPTER VIII

THE GROWTH OF THE CONSTITUTION

274. Steps in the Development of the Constitution.—

Numerous steps have marked the development of the constitution and the movement toward union.

The United Colonies of New England in 1643; Franklin's Plan of Union proposed at Albany in 1754; the Stamp Act Congress in 1765; the First Continental Congress in 1774; the Second Continental Congress in 1775; the Declaration of Independence in 1776; the adoption of new state constitutions by the several states from 1776 to 1780; the Articles of Confederation in 1781; the Annapolis Trade Convention in 1786 and finally the Constitutional Convention in 1787—are all important steps in the growth of the constitution.

275. Government During the Revolution.—The First Continental Congress was not a governing body. It was called together to demand of the king and parliament a redress of grievances. The Second met primarily, to consider the answer of the king to this address. By force of circumstances, however, the Second Continental Congress immediately assumed the power of a governing body, and continued as such from May 10, 1775, until March 2, 1789. Two days later the First National Congress convened in Federal Hall, New York City, which since 1785 had been the seat of government.

276. The States Adopt New Constitutions.—During the progress of the Revolution all the states declared their independence of King George, and, on the advice of Congress, all, excepting Rhode Island and Connecticut (their liberal charters sufficing), adopted new constitutions.

The machinery of government corresponded to that of the colonial days—providing for a governor, a legislature of two houses, judges, and other officers. Both a religious and a property test were required of voters in nearly all the colonies, and Sunday laws were maintained. While Massachusetts provided for laws against theaters and extravagance in dress, still to her belongs the glory of being the first of the thirteen original states to abolish slavery. Vermont three years before (1777) had adopted a constitution prohibiting slavery, but when she applied to Congress for admission as a state, Congress refused her. She was the first state to be admitted after the adoption of the constitution.

These new state constitutions carried the states safely through the prolonged struggle of the Revolution, and proved a source of strength to the central governing body—the Second Continental Congress.

277. Articles of Confederation—1781.—In the first burst of enthusiasm but few questioned the authority of Congress, and but little contention among the colonies resulted. But as time passed, great dissensions arose. The necessity was thus felt for a national constitution, fixing the powers of the general government. Accordingly, in November of 1777, Congress submitted to the states for their ratification the “Articles of Confederation and Perpetual Union”—the same to become binding only when approved by the unanimous vote of the thirteen states.

The government instituted under the Articles of Confederation, while not satisfactory, was probably the best that could have obtained ratification at that time. As it was, great difficulty was experienced in securing the adoption of the Articles—the consent of Maryland not having been obtained until March 1, 1781. The vote of Maryland made the adoption unanimous, and the Articles went into operation as the first constitution of the new republic.

278. Weakness of the Articles.—The Articles provided for a congress of the United States composed of delegates from

each state, appointed by the state, paid by the state, and entirely under the state's control. These delegates were chosen annually. No state could have less than two nor more than seven delegates. Whatever the number of delegates, each state could have but one vote, and the vote of nine of the states was necessary for the passage of important laws. Congress had power, though limited, over postal regulations, Indian affairs, coin, weights and measures, war and peace.

The chief defects in the Articles lay in the facts that

(1) Congress could not collect a revenue. It could not levy taxes. It could deal with the states, but not with the people. It could request, but could not compel a state to furnish money for the support of the general government. It was thus at the mercy of the states, which, in more than one instance, refused its request. Thus, while Congress had power to raise armies, it did not have power to raise money with which to pay the armies. While it could incur debts, it had no power to raise money to cancel them.

(2) Congress had no power to enforce its own laws. It could make treaties, but could not prevent the violation of treaty obligations by the states. Thus the general government could neither preserve order at home nor command respect abroad. Five of the states refused to comply with the provision of the treaty of 1783 providing for the payment of private debts.

(3) Congress had no power to regulate commerce between the states.

Foreign commerce was practically destroyed at the close of the war, when Great Britain laid heavy tariffs on all American exports and later forbade American ships to trade with the British West Indies—a trade which had always been a source of wealth to the American colonies. Congress could not retaliate because the states would not unite in a uniform law. Thus each state was soon engaged in an attempt to build itself up at the expense of other states by placing high

tariffs on productions both from foreign countries and from sister states. Instead of retaliating against Great Britain, the states retaliated against each other. One port would often bid against another for foreign goods,—admitting the goods duty free,—even after agreeing not to do so. Thus bad faith was practiced, and strife and bitterness followed.

The condition of trade and the disturbed state of business in every state of the union perhaps did more than all else toward leading the whole country to see the immediate necessity for a stronger government than the Articles afforded.

(4) The Articles could not be amended, save by a vote of all the states. All efforts to amend the Articles failed,—a unanimous vote of the thirteen states could not be secured.

(5) The fact that each state could have but one vote was felt to be unjust in the extreme. Thus Massachusetts, with its 370,000, and Virginia, with its more than a half million population, had no more voice than Georgia and Rhode Island and Delaware, each with a population of less than 70,000.

279. State Pride.—At best, the “union,” under the Articles of Confederation, was but a confederation of separate states. The idea of the government of the United States being a government “of the people, by the people, and for the people” of “one common country,” had not yet laid hold upon the public mind. There was much local pride; and much jealousy between the states. To be a citizen of any state was a prouder distinction than to be a citizen of the republic. It was the day in which “my state” was much spoken of, and “our country” but little.

280. Shays's Rebellion.—Even states which attempted to carry out their own measures, or the requests of the national government, were interfered with by their own citizens. A serious uprising took place in Massachusetts at the close of the year 1786, in which one thousand armed men under Daniel Shays attempted to interfere with the authority of

the state government. This rebellion had the sympathy of many citizens of Massachusetts as well as of adjoining states. It was promptly suppressed by the firm action of the governor.

This disturbance in staid old Massachusetts excited comment in all the colonies. Shays and his followers had been opposing the collection of taxes, and the forced payment of private debts; and insisting on the issuing of paper money by the state.

281. Movement toward a Stronger Government.—While the Articles were defective, still they served to keep before the public mind the idea of a union of the states and of the necessity of a national authority. Though the Articles had not gone into operation until March 1, 1781, nevertheless the principles embodied in them had been followed from the first by the Second Continental Congress. While the struggle against the common foe was in progress, patriotism made up for the defects of the Articles; but when that support was removed, each succeeding year but made more evident their total inadequacy to meet the object for which they had been brought into existence. Wise men in every section saw the necessity of a radical change in the method of government. Just how this change should be accomplished, was the question which confronted all. Suggestions were made by Alexander Hamilton of New York; by leaders in Massachusetts, and in Pennsylvania. Finally in the legislatures of Connecticut, Maryland, and Virginia resolutions were adopted inviting all the states to send delegates to meet at Annapolis, Maryland, for the purpose of considering the state of American trade and all questions relating thereto.

282. The Annapolis Trade Convention—1786.—But five states, however,—New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Virginia,—sent delegates. These met on September 11, 1786. A majority of the states not being represented, these delegates deferred action, and at the same time proposed another convention. Congress, in the follow-

ing February, indorsed this proposal by asking that a convention meet in Philadelphia in May of 1787 for the "sole purpose of revising the Articles of Confederation."

283. The Northwest Territory.—In the meantime Congress was enacting an important piece of legislation—the organization of the Northwest Territory under the ordinance of 1787. The reason Maryland had refused to ratify the Articles of Confederation until 1781 (four years after Congress had passed them) was due to the fact that Virginia, New York, Massachusetts, and Connecticut had at first refused to relinquish their claim to the territory lying north of the Ohio River, and extending from the western limits of New York and Pennsylvania to the Mississippi River—the whole known as the Northwest Territory. These states based their claim on the wording of their charters—that of Virginia reading "from the west by the northwest"; that of the others, "from sea to sea."

Maryland and the smaller states, whose charters gave them no claim to the western territory, feared that under the Articles the larger states, with their vast wealth of public land, would take to themselves greater powers; and thus the smaller would receive less of the benefits of the union. In the contention Maryland won—the four states concerned agreeing to cede all their public land to the general government. By 1786 this agreement had been complied with.

284. The Ordinance of 1787.—This land grant became known as the "public domain," and was organized as a territory by Congress under the "Ordinance of 1787." This ordinance separated the territory into three divisions. When the inhabitants in any one of these divisions should reach 60,000, it was to be admitted as a new state. No land was to be taken until the government had purchased it from the Indians and had announced it to be open to settlement.

A governor was to be appointed until such time as the inhabitants could set up a government of their own—the same to be republican in form. No property or religious

qualification was required of voters. A delegate could be sent to Congress, who could debate on all questions, but not vote.

Education was liberally provided for by granting the proceeds from the sales of certain sections of the public lands, to the public school fund.

Slavery was forever prohibited from the territory or from any state which should be organized out of any portion thereof.

This ordinance became the model upon which all the territories of the United States have been organized. As a piece of wise legislation, it was far-reaching in its effect on the future history of the country.

285. The Constitutional Convention — 1787. — With the exception of Rhode Island and New Hampshire, all the states promptly responded to the suggestion of Congress and the Annapolis Trade Convention. The latter part of May saw the delegates of eleven states in session at Philadelphia, with George Washington as president and William Jackson as secretary, of the convention.

Edmund Randolph, governor of Virginia, made the opening address, in which he suggested that a national government ought to be established consisting of a legislative, an executive, and a judicial department.

This was a wide departure from the government under the Articles, which provided only for a legislative department—the Congress. The convention had not proceeded far, when it saw that an attempt to revise the Articles of Confederation was useless. The Articles were therefore thrown aside, and the convention proceeded to the formation of an entirely new constitution. The sessions of the convention, which consumed a period of nearly four months, were behind closed doors.

286. The Men Who Composed the Convention.—Among its delegates were some of the ablest men in the country. Some had been members of both the First and the Second Conti-

nental Congress, and had signed the Declaration of Independence. From Connecticut came Roger Sherman; from Massachusetts, Rufus King; from New York, Alexander Hamilton; from Pennsylvania, the venerable Franklin and Robert Morris; from South Carolina, John Rutledge and the two Pinckneys; from Delaware, John Dickinson; while from Virginia came Washington and Edmund Randolph and James Madison.

287. The Constitution, the Result of Compromise.—The constitution as it stands to-day does not set forth the ideas of government as held by any one member of the convention; each article, each section, and each clause was passed only after the most severe scrutiny. On certain questions it seemed almost impossible for the convention to agree. "Compromise" is written in every line.

288. The Three Great Compromises.—It was agreed that there should be two houses of Congress. The larger states wished the number of members in each house to be based on the population of the several states. The smaller states insisted upon some plan of equal representation. It was conceded to the smaller states that the Senate should be composed of two senators from each state; and to the larger, that the number of members in the House of Representatives should be based on population.

The second compromise arose over the question as to whether slaves should be counted in apportioning representatives to each state. The northern and middle states, with less than 60,000 slaves, opposed counting the slaves unless they were also counted when direct taxes were levied; some of the states in the south, where there was a population of more than 600,000 slaves, insisted upon counting all in determining representation, but not for taxation. The compromise provided that three-fifths of the slaves should be counted, both in apportioning representatives and in levying direct taxes.

The third compromise was on the question of the regula-

tion of commerce, but indirectly involved the question of slavery. The north wished Congress to have power over commerce. The south objected; at the same time some of the southerners wished that the slave trade should be permitted, to which the north objected. The compromise provided that Congress should have control of commerce, and that the importation of slaves should not be prohibited prior to the year 1808.

289. The Constitution before the People for Adoption.—When the convention adjourned September 17, 1787, it submitted the new constitution to Congress, which in turn submitted it to the state legislatures, and these submitted it to the people of the several states for their ratification. It was a season of peril to the young republic. Should the constitution not receive the votes of nine of the thirteen states, all the labor of the convention would be for naught. So bitter had been the contest in the convention that a number of the delegates had gone home dissatisfied with the result. These as a rule threw their influence against its ratification. For various reasons, some of the strongest men in the colonies were opposed to its adoption, of whom Samuel Adams of Massachusetts and Patrick Henry of Virginia were notable examples. But happily, the counsel of such men as Washington and Madison and Franklin and Hamilton prevailed. Delaware was the first to ratify, and on June 9, 1788, New Hampshire gave it its votes as the ninth state. Virginia soon followed, and on the 26th of July New York gave its assent, though after a prolonged struggle. Rhode Island and North Carolina failed to ratify until after the inauguration of Washington.

290. "The Federalist."—While the constitution was before the people of New York, Hamilton, Madison, and Jay greatly aided in its adoption by issuing a series of essays explaining the provisions of the constitution. These were published in a newspaper over the common signature of "Publius." They were afterwards collected and published

in a volume styled "The Federalist." So clearly were the principles of federal government discussed that "The Federalist" immediately took rank as a classic in the political literature of the republic.

291. The First Two Political Parties — Federalists and Anti-Federalists.—When the constitution was before the people for ratification, those in favor of its adoption were known as Federalists and those who opposed were known as Anti-Federalists.

While the Federalist party, with Washington as President, organized the government under the new constitution, still during the first administration of Washington, party lines were not closely drawn. However, a division soon occurred, with Hamilton as leader of the Federalist party and Jefferson as the leader of the Democratic-Republican party—that name taking the place of Anti-Federalist.

292. Amendments to the Constitution.—At the time of the ratification many Anti-Federalists had voted for the constitution on the strength of a promise from the leading Federalists that they would vote for certain amendments to the constitution after the government should be instituted. A few of the states had cast their votes for ratification with this express understanding.

Within two years after the inauguration of Washington the first ten amendments to the constitution were adopted (1791). These are sometimes called "The Bill of Rights."

The Eleventh Amendment was added in 1798; the Twelfth, in 1804; the Thirteenth, in 1865; the Fourteenth, in 1868; and the Fifteenth, in 1870.

The text of the constitution, as amended, follows:

CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES

PREAMBLE

WE, THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, promote the general welfare,

and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE I.—LEGISLATIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I.—All legislative powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The House of Representatives shall be composed of members chosen every second year by the people of the several States, and the electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State Legislature.

CLAUSE 2. No person shall be a representative who shall not have attained to the age of twenty-five years, and been seven years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 3. Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective numbers, which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a term of years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three-fifths of all other persons.¹ The actual enumeration shall be made within three years after the first meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent term of ten years, in such manner as they shall by law direct. The number of representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty thousand, but each State shall have at least one representative; and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to choose three; Massachusetts, eight; Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, one; Connecticut, five; New York, six; New Jersey, four; Pennsylvania, eight; Delaware, one; Maryland, six; Virginia, ten; North Carolina, five; South Carolina, five; and Georgia, three.²

CLAUSE 4. When vacancies happen in the representation from any State, the executive authority thereof shall issue writs of election to fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 5. The House of Representatives shall choose their

¹ Meaning slaves. (Through the influence of Edmund Randolph, the word does not appear in the original articles of the Constitution.)

² Under the census of 1900 one representative is apportioned to every 193,291 persons.

Speaker and other officers; and shall have the sole power of impeachment.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six years; and each senator shall have one vote.

CLAUSE 2. Immediately after they shall be assembled in consequence of the first election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three classes. The seats of the senators of the first class shall be vacated at the expiration of the second year; of the second class at the expiration of the fourth year; and of the third class at the expiration of the sixth year, so that one third may be chosen every second year; and if vacancies happen by resignation, or otherwise, during the recess of the Legislature of any State, the executive thereof may make temporary appointments until the next meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such vacancies.

CLAUSE 3. No person shall be a senator who shall not have attained to the age of thirty years, and been nine years a citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

CLAUSE 4. The Vice-President of the United States shall be president of the Senate, but shall have no vote, unless they be equally divided.

CLAUSE 5. The Senate shall choose their other officers, and also a president *pro tempore*, in the absence of the Vice-President, or when he shall exercise the office of President of the United States.

CLAUSE 6. The Senate shall have the sole power to try all impeachments. When sitting for that purpose, they shall be on oath or affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief-Justice shall preside: and no person shall be convicted without the concurrence of two-thirds of the members present.

CLAUSE 7. Judgment in cases of impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any office of honor, trust, or profit under the United States: but the party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to indictment, trial, judgment, and punishment, according to law.

SECTION IV.—CLAUSE 1. The times, places and manner of holding elections for senators and representatives shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by law make or alter such regulations, except as to the places of choosing senators.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall assemble at least once in every

year, and such meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by law appoint a different day.

SECTION V.—CLAUSE 1. Each House shall be the judge of the elections, returns, and qualifications of its own members, and a majority of each shall constitute a quorum to do business; but a smaller number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the attendance of absent members, in such manner, and under such penalties as each House may provide.

CLAUSE 2. Each House may determine the rules of its proceedings, punish its members for disorderly behavior, and, with the concurrence of two-thirds, expel a member.

CLAUSE 3. Each House shall keep a journal of its proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such parts as may in their judgment require secrecy; and the yeas and nays of the members of either House on any question shall, at the desire of one-fifth of those present, be entered on the journal.

CLAUSE 4. Neither House, during the session of Congress, shall, without the consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION VI.—CLAUSE 1. The senators and representatives shall receive a compensation for their services, to be ascertained by law, and paid out of the treasury of the United States. They shall in all cases, except treason, felony, and breach of the peace, be privileged from arrest during their attendance at the session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any speech or debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other place.

CLAUSE 2. No senator or representative shall, during the time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil office under the authority of the United States, which shall have been created, or the emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time; and no person holding any office under the United States, shall be a member of either House during his continuance in office.

SECTION VII.—CLAUSE 1. All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments, as on other bills.

CLAUSE 2. Every bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a law, be presented to the President of the United States; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his objections, to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the objections at large on their journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If

after such reconsideration, two-thirds of that House shall agree to pass the bill, it shall be sent, together with the objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two-thirds of that House, it shall become a law. But in all such cases the votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and nay, and the names of the persons voting for and against the bill shall be entered on the journal of each House respectively. If any bill shall not be returned by the President within ten days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the same shall be a law, in like manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their adjournment prevent its return, in which case it shall not be a law.

CLAUSE 3. Every order, resolution, or vote to which the concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States; and before the same shall take effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be re-passed by two-thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the rules and limitations prescribed in the case of a bill.

SECTION VIII.—CLAUSE 1. The Congress shall have power to lay and collect taxes, duties, imposts and excises, to pay the debts and provide for the common defence and general welfare of the United States; but all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 2. To borrow money on the credit of the United States;

CLAUSE 3. To regulate commerce with foreign nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian tribes;

CLAUSE 4. To establish an uniform rule of naturalization, and uniform laws on the subject of bankruptcies throughout the United States;

CLAUSE 5. To coin money, regulate the value thereof, and of foreign coin, and fix the standard of weights and measures;

CLAUSE 6. To provide for the punishment of counterfeiting the securities and current coin of the United States;

CLAUSE 7. To establish postoffices and post-roads;

CLAUSE 8. To promote the progress of science and useful arts, by securing for limited times to authors and inventors the exclusive right to their respective writings and discoveries;

CLAUSE 9. To constitute tribunals inferior to the Supreme Court;

CLAUSE 10. To define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas, and offences against the law of nations;

CLAUSE 11. To declare war, grant letters of marque and reprisal, and make rules concerning captures on land and water;

CLAUSE 12. To raise and support armies, but no appropriation of money to that use shall be for a longer term than two years;

CLAUSE 13. To provide and maintain a navy;

CLAUSE 14. To make rules for the government and regulation of the land and naval forces;

CLAUSE 15. To provide for calling forth the militia to execute the laws of the Union, suppress insurrections and repel invasions;

CLAUSE 16. To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia, and for governing such part of them as may be employed in the service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the appointment of the officers, and the authority of training the militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress;

CLAUSE 17. To exercise exclusive legislation in all cases whatsoever, over such district (not exceeding ten miles square) as may, by cession of particular States, and the acceptance of Congress, become the seat of the government of the United States, and to exercise like authority over all places purchased by the consent of the Legislature of the State in which the same shall be, for the erection of forts, magazines, arsenals, dock-yards, and other needful buildings;—
And

CLAUSE 18. To make all laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into execution the foregoing powers, and all other powers vested by this Constitution in the government of the United States, or in any department or officer thereof.

SECTION IX.—CLAUSE 1. The migration or importation of such persons¹ as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a tax or duty may be imposed on such importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each person.

CLAUSE 2. The privilege of the writ of habeas corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in cases of rebellion or invasion the public safety may require it.

CLAUSE 3. No bill of attainder or *ex post facto* law shall be passed.

CLAUSE 4. No capitation, or other direct tax, shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore directed to be taken.

CLAUSE 5. No tax or duty shall be laid on articles exported from any State.

¹Meaning slaves.

CLAUSE 6. No preference shall be given by any regulation of commerce or revenue to the ports of one State over those of another; nor shall vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay duties in another.

CLAUSE 7. No money shall be drawn from the treasury, but in consequence of appropriations made by law; and a regular statement and account of the receipts and expenditures of all public money shall be published from time to time.

CLAUSE 8. No title of nobility shall be granted by the United States: and no person holding any office of profit or trust under them, shall, without the consent of the Congress, accept of any present, emolument, office, or title, of any kind whatever, from any king, prince, or foreign State.

SECTION X.—CLAUSE 1. No State shall enter into any treaty, alliance, or confederation; grant letters of marque and reprisal; coin money; emit bills of credit; make anything but gold and silver coin a tender in payment of debts; pass any bill of attainder, *ex post facto* law, or law impairing the obligation of contracts, or grant any title of nobility.

CLAUSE 2. No State shall, without the consent of the Congress, lay any impost, or duties on imports or exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing its inspection laws; and the net produce of all duties and imposts, laid by any State on imports or exports, shall be for the use of the treasury of the United States; and all such laws shall be subject to the revision and control of the Congress.

CLAUSE 3. No State shall, without the consent of Congress, lay any duty of tonnage, keep troops, or ships of war, in time of peace, enter into any agreement or compact with another State, or with a foreign power, or engage in war, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent danger as will not admit of delay.

ARTICLE II.—EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENT

SECTION I.—CLAUSE 1. The executive power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his office during the term of four years, and, together with the Vice-President, chosen for the same term, be elected, as follows:

CLAUSE 2. Each State shall appoint, in such manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a number of electors, equal to the whole number of senators and representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no senator or representative, or person holding an office of trust or profit under the United States, shall be appointed an elector.

CLAUSE 3.¹

CLAUSE 4. The Congress may determine the time of choosing the electors, and the day on which they shall give their votes; which day shall be the same throughout the United States.

CLAUSE 5. No person except a natural-born citizen, or a citizen of the United States at the time of the adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the office of President; neither shall any person be eligible to that office who shall not have attained to the age of thirty-five years, and been fourteen years a resident within the United States.

CLAUSE 6. In case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the Vice-President, and the Congress may by law provide for the case of removal, death, resignation, or inability, both of the President and Vice-President, declaring what officer shall then act as President, and such officer shall act accordingly, until the disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

CLAUSE 7. The President shall, at stated times, receive for his services, a compensation, which shall neither be increased nor diminished during the period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that period any other emolument from the United States, or any of them.

CLAUSE 8. Before he enter on the execution of his office, he shall take the following oath or affirmation:—"I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States."

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The President shall be commander-in-chief of the army and navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several States, when called into the actual service of the United States; he may require the opinion, in writing, of the principal officer in each of the executive departments, upon any subject relating to the duties of their respective offices; and he shall have power to grant reprieves and pardons for offences against the United States, except in cases of impeachment.

CLAUSE 2. He shall have power, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, to make treaties, provided two-thirds of the senators present concur; and he shall nominate, and by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, shall appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and all other officers of the United States, whose appointments are

¹See Amendment XII, which has superseded this clause.

not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by law: but the Congress may by law vest the appointment of such inferior officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the courts of law, or in the heads of departments.

CLAUSE 3. The President shall have power to fill up all vacancies that may happen during the recess of the Senate, by granting commissions which shall expire at the end of their next session.

SECTION III.—He shall from time to time give to the Congress information of the state of the Union, and recommend to their consideration such measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient; he may, on extraordinary occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in case of disagreement between them, with respect to the time of adjournment, he may adjourn them to such time as he shall think proper; he shall receive ambassadors and other public ministers; he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and shall commission all the officers of the United States.

SECTION IV.—The President, Vice-President and all civil officers of the United States, shall be removed from office on impeachment for, and conviction of, treason, bribery, or other high crimes and misdemeanors.

ARTICLE III.—JUDICIAL DEPARTMENT

SECTION I.—The judicial power of the United States shall be vested in one Supreme Court, and in such inferior courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The judges, both of the Supreme and inferior courts, shall hold their offices during good behavior, and shall, at stated times, receive for their services, a compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in office.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1.¹ The judicial power shall extend to all cases, in law and equity, arising under this Constitution, the laws of the United States, and treaties made, or which shall be made, under their authority;—to all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls;—to all cases of admiralty and maritime jurisdiction;—to controversies to which the United States shall be a party;—to controversies between two or more States;—between a State and citizens of another State;—between citizens of different States;—between citizens of the same State claiming lands under grants of different States, and between a State, or the citizens thereof, and foreign states, citizens or subjects.

¹ See Amendment XI for modification of this clause.

CLAUSE 2. In all cases affecting ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, and those in which a State shall be party, the Supreme Court shall have original jurisdiction. In all the other cases before mentioned, the Supreme Court shall have appellate jurisdiction, both as to law and fact, with such exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

CLAUSE 3. The trial of all crimes, except in cases of impeachment, shall be by jury; and such trial shall be held in the State where the said crimes shall have been committed; but when not committed within any State, the trial shall be at such place or places as the Congress may by law have directed.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. Treason against the United States shall consist only in levying war against them, or in adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort. No person shall be convicted of treason, unless on the testimony of two witnesses to the same overt act, or on confession in open court.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to declare the punishment of treason; but no attainder of treason shall work corruption of blood, or forfeiture except during the life of the person attainted.

ARTICLE IV.—GENERAL PROVISIONS

SECTION I.—Full faith and credit shall be given in each State to the public acts, records, and judicial proceedings of every other State; and the Congress may by general laws prescribe the manner in which such acts, records, and proceedings shall be proved, and the effect thereof.

SECTION II.—CLAUSE 1. The citizens of each State shall be entitled to all privileges and immunities of citizens in the several States.

CLAUSE 2. A person charged in any State with treason, felony, or other crime, who shall flee from justice, and be found in another State, shall, on demand of the executive authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up to be removed to the State having jurisdiction of the crime.

CLAUSE 3.¹ No person held to service or labor in one State, under the laws thereof, escaping into another, shall in consequence of any law or regulation therein, be discharged from such service or labor, but shall be delivered up on claim of the party to whom such service or labor may be due.

SECTION III.—CLAUSE 1. New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union; but no new State shall be formed or

¹This clause refers to slaves as well as to apprentices.

erected within the jurisdiction of any other State; nor any State be formed by the junction of two or more States, or parts of States, without the consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

CLAUSE 2. The Congress shall have power to dispose of and make all needful rules and regulations respecting the territory or other property belonging to the United States; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to prejudice any claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION IV. The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of Government, and shall protect each of them against invasion, and on application of the Legislature, or of the executive (when the Legislature can not be convened), against domestic violence.

ARTICLE V.—POWER OF AMENDMENT

The Congress, whenever two-thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose amendments to this Constitution, or, on the application of the Legislatures of two-thirds of the several States, shall call a convention for proposing amendments, which, in either case, shall be valid to all intents and purposes, as part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three-fourths of the several States, or by conventions in three-fourths thereof, as the one or the other mode of ratification may be proposed by the Congress; provided that no amendment which may be made prior to the year one thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any manner affect the first and fourth clauses in the ninth section of the first article; and that no State, without its consent, shall be deprived of its equal suffrage in the Senate.

ARTICLE VI.—MISCELLANEOUS PROVISIONS

CLAUSE 1. All debts contracted and engagements entered into, before the adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

CLAUSE 2. This Constitution, and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof; and all treaties made, or which shall be made, under the authority of the United States, shall be the supreme law of the land; and the judges in every State shall be bound thereby, anything in the Constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

CLAUSE 3. The senators and representatives before mentioned, and the members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial officers, both of the United States and of the several

States, shall be bound by oath or affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious test shall ever be required as a qualification to any office or public trust under the United States.

ARTICLE VII.—RATIFICATION OF THE CONSTITUTION

The ratification of the conventions of nine States shall be sufficient for the establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the same.

Done in convention by the unanimous consent of the States present the seventeenth day of September in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty-seven, and of the independence of the United States of America the twelfth.

In witness whereof we have hereunto subscribed our names.

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

President, and Deputy from Virginia.

Attest: WILLIAM JACKSON,

Secretary.

[In the original draft of the Constitution there here follow the signatures of the delegates by States. There were fifty-five delegates in the Convention, of which only thirty-nine signed the document. Rhode Island was not represented.]

AMENDMENTS

TO THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES, RATIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROVISIONS OF THE FIFTH ARTICLE OF THE FOREGOING CONSTITUTION.

ARTICLE I.¹—Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.

ARTICLE II.—A well-regulated militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear arms, shall not be infringed.

ARTICLE III.—No soldier shall, in time of peace, be quartered in any house, without the consent of the owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

ARTICLE IV.—The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by oath or affirmation, and par-

¹Amendments I to X took effect December 15, 1791.

ticularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

ARTICLE V.—No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a grand jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the militia, when in actual service in time of war or public danger; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb; nor shall be compelled in any criminal case to be a witness against himself, nor to be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor shall private property be taken for public use without just compensation.

ARTICLE VI.—In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation; to be confronted with the witnesses against him; to have compulsory process for obtaining witnesses in his favor, and to have the assistance of counsel for his defence.

ARTICLE VII.—In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

ARTICLE VIII.—Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

ARTICLE IX.—The enumeration in the Constitution of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

ARTICLE X.—The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

ARTICLE XI.¹—The judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by citizens of another State, or by citizens or subjects of any foreign state.

ARTICLE XII.²—The electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by ballot for President and Vice-President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same State with themselves; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice-Presi-

¹Took effect January 8, 1798.

²Took effect September 25, 1804.

dent; and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice-President, and of the number of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the president of the Senate;—the president of the Senate shall, in the presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates, and the votes shall then be counted;—the person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by States, the representation from each State having one vote; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the States, and a majority of all the States shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice-President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice-President, shall be the Vice-President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of electors appointed; and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice-President; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice-President of the United States.

ARTICLE XIII.¹—SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the person shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

ARTICLE XIV.²—SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall

¹Took effect December 18, 1865. ²Took effect July 28, 1868.

any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice-President of the United States, representatives in Congress, the executive or judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a senator or representative in Congress, or elector of President or Vice-President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State Legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss or emancipation of any slave; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

ARTICLE XV.¹—SECTION 1. The rights of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Took effect March 30, 1870.



CHAPTER IX

FROM WASHINGTON TO JACKSON

1789—1829

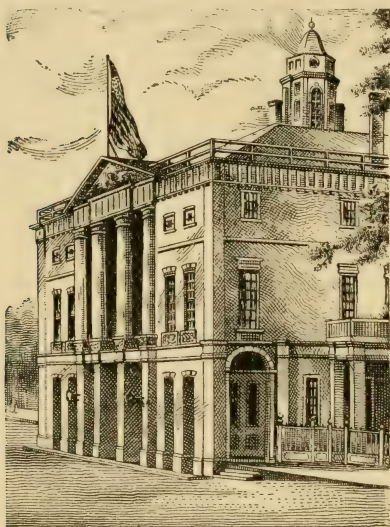
293. The New Government Established—1789.—On the recommendation of the Continental Congress, all the ratifying states except New York, acting in accordance with the provisions of the constitution, proceeded to elect presidential electors,—and all elected senators and representatives to congress.

The presidential electors, assembling at their respective state capitals in February, 1789, performed the work required of them, and sent their reports to the seat of government at New York—that city having been designated by the Second Continental Congress as the place at which the government should be instituted on the 4th of the coming March.

In New York, the 4th of March was ushered in by the firing of cannon and the ringing of bells. These demonstrations were repeated at noon and sunset, but on account of the bad habits of delay that had crept into all affairs relating to public business—and due, also, to the lack of public conveyances and the inconvenience of travel at that time—but eight senators and thirteen representatives had arrived at the hour appointed. The 30th of March saw but a bare quorum of the members of the lower house present, when that body proceeded to organize by electing a speaker and other officers. One week later (April 6), a sufficient number of senators having arrived, the senate organized by electing a chairman “for the sole purpose of opening and counting the votes for president of the United States.” The house thereupon adjourned to the senate chamber in Federal Hall, where, in the pres-

ence of both bodies, the votes were opened and read aloud by the chairman of the senate and counted by tellers appointed from each house. This work finished, the representatives withdrew to their own chamber, when the presiding officer of each body officially announced the result, which had been known throughout the country since the month of February.

George Washington had received sixty-nine electoral votes, and was declared unanimously elected president of the United States. John Adams—just returned from England



FEDERAL HALL

as minister to that country—was declared elected vice-president. Messengers were at once sent to Mount Vernon and to Massachusetts, to notify the newly-elected officers, and to present them with their certificates of election. John Adams soon arrived in New York and assumed his duties as the presiding officer of the senate.

294. Washington Inaugurated April 30, 1789.

—George Washington arrived a few days later,

and on April 30 was accompanied by the entire senate and house of representatives to the balcony of old Federal Hall, where the chancellor for New York, Robert R. Livingston, stood awaiting him, to administer the oath of office. A vast company of people filled the streets in every direction. The scene was imposing and solemn. As Chancellor Livingston concluded, he exclaimed: "Long live George Washington, president of the United States," to which the

people responded in long-continued shouting. Thus was the new government established.

WASHINGTON'S ADMINISTRATION

FEDERALIST: 1789-1797.

295. The First President.—No wiser choice could have been made for president. Washington held the confidence and esteem of his fellow-citizens. His trip from Mount Vernon to New York was one continual series of ovations, in which men, women, and children vied with each other to do the new president honor. At Philadelphia, his reception was imposing; at Trenton, in view of old memories, it was solemnly patriotic. When he crossed the bridge at Princeton, over which he had retreated when pursued by Cornwallis, he passed under a triumphal arch, and his roadway was strewn with flowers. His reception at New York was a grand and imposing spectacle, in which the whole city joined. The love and the devotion of the people for Washington was deep and sincere. As president of the United States, his very name gave to the new republic a little larger importance in the eyes of the civilized world than it could otherwise have obtained.

296. The President's Cabinet.—Congress having already authorized the president to select a body of advisers, this Washington did at once. These advisers constituted the "president's cabinet," which consisted of but four departments—the departments of state, of the treasury, of war, and of the attorney-generalship.

Since that day four other departments have been added—the department of the navy, created in 1798; the department of the interior, in 1849; and that of agriculture, in 1889. The postmaster-general became a member of the cabinet after 1829.

In the first cabinet, Jefferson was secretary of state; Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury; General Henry Knox, secretary of war; and Edmund Randolph,

attorney-general. All were men of distinguished ability. Jefferson, as Franklin's successor to the court of France, had devoted most of his time to the settlement of disputes with foreign governments. Hamilton, though but thirty-two years of age, had already established a reputation for great ability, especially in the field of finance. Knox had been an officer of distinction in the Revolution, and had been at the head of military affairs since the close of the war. Edmund Randolph was a lawyer of fine ability; had been governor of Virginia; attorney-general of that state; and a delegate in the Continental Congress, and the Constitutional Convention.

297. The Condition of the Government Finances in 1789.—The first serious question which confronted the new government was that of its finances. At the time of the inauguration, there was hardly a dollar in the treasury with which to meet even the running expenses of the new republic; and yet, the government owed to foreign nations, in round numbers, the sum of \$13,000,000; to its own private citizens, \$42,000,000. In addition to this, the several states had contracted Revolutionary debts of their own, amounting in all to \$25,000,000.

298. Hamilton's Financial Policy.—It now devolved upon Alexander Hamilton, secretary of the treasury, to reform the finances of the country. On his advice, congress agreed:

- (1) To pay the foreign debt and all interest due thereon.
- (2) To pay all debts due from the government to its private citizens.
- (3) To assume all debts contracted by the separate states during the Revolution.

This assumption of all debts involved but the first part of Hamilton's plan. There still remained the necessity of devising a scheme of revenue sufficient to pay these debts, and to meet the running expenses of the government.

299. The Tariff of 1789: The Excise Tax—1790: Bank of

the United States—1791: The United States Mint—1792.—Congress now passed a tariff bill, laying a tax on all imports. All custom houses, which had heretofore been under control of the states, now passed to the national government, which located collectors at every port of entry in the United States. The purpose of this tariff legislation was twofold—to raise a revenue, and to protect home manufactures.

An excise law was passed, which levied a tax on every gallon of liquor distilled in the United States, and also on all liquor imported into the United States.

The Bank of the United States, with a capital of \$10,000,000, was chartered for twenty years. The government held one-fifth of the stock, and agreed to receive the bills of the bank in payment of all claims due the United States. The bank was of great service in establishing the national credit.

Congress, having power to coin money, established at Philadelphia the United States Mint, which was soon turning out copper coin, silver dollars, and gold eagles. Foreign coins, which, on account of their varying values, had always been annoying in business transactions, were now driven out of circulation.

All these measures were adopted by congress on the advice of Hamilton. To him belongs the credit of establishing the finances of the country on a firm basis. Of him, in later years, Daniel Webster said: "He smote the rock of our national resources, and abundant streams of revenue poured forth; he touched the dead corpse of public credit, and it sprang upon its feet."

300. The Judiciary Established—1789.—The executive and legislative departments being now established, it devolved upon congress to organize the judicial department. Accordingly, in 1789, congress established a supreme court, to consist of one chief justice and five associate justices. As inferior courts, it created both the circuit and the district courts. So wisely was this act drawn up that

the judiciary remained practically unchanged (except as to the number of judges and their division of labor) until the year 1891, when the circuit court of appeals was created as an additional court.

Washington appointed John Jay first chief justice of the United States.

The honor of having assisted Hamilton in reforming the finances belongs to the house; that of having organized the judiciary belongs to the senate.

301. The First National Congress: The Term of a Congress.—Thus, through the wise legislation of the First National Congress, had all the machinery of the new government been set in motion. No greater task has devolved upon any congress of the United States, nor has any legislation been more wisely or more satisfactorily accomplished.

A congress is known by its number, and is in existence two years (from March 4 to March 4)—measured by the length of the term of a member of the lower house. While the first congress held three sessions, the majority of congresses have usually held but two sessions—the first being designated the long, and the second the short, session. Each new congress begins its first session in an odd year. Thus, the First National Congress began its life in the odd year, 1789; the Fifty-seventh Congress held its first session in the odd year, 1901.

302. The National Capital.—After the organization of the government, a movement was set on foot for the building of a national capital. Great rivalry at once sprang up between the states. The southerners wanted the capital in their section. The northerners in general wished to place it in one of the middle states. Its final location was determined by a compromise, which provided that Philadelphia should be the capital of the republic from 1790 to 1800, and after that, the seat of government should be located at some point on the Potomac River, the same to be selected by the president. In 1793 Washington selected the present site of the

city of Washington, which was named in his honor and became the capital of the United States in the year 1800.

303. Political Parties: Federalist and Democratic-Republican.—Some of the ablest members in congress bitterly opposed certain of Hamilton's reform measures. Hamilton was a pronounced Federalist, and this name, which at first had been applied to those who favored the ratification of the constitution, was now applied to Hamilton's supporters. As a political party, the Federalists favored a strong central government and believed in establishing the Union as firmly as possible. They became champions of the "loose construction" theory of the constitution, holding that congress had certain powers, which, though not expressed, were implied in the constitution.

Their opponents were "strict constructionists," holding to the letter of the constitution. They accused the Federalists of "monarchical tendencies." They opposed a strong national government, and held to the theory of "state's rights." At this time a party had appeared in France known as Republican. Jefferson, having but recently returned from France, suggested that the name "Anti-Federalist" be now dropped and that the term "Democratic-Republican" be substituted therefor. This party in the days of President Jackson became the Democratic party—the name which it bears at the present day.

Hamilton was the leader of the Federalists, and Jefferson the leader of the Democratic-Republicans.

304. Foreign Affairs.—During Washington's administration, trouble arose with four foreign nations—Algiers, Spain, France, and England.

The pirates of Algiers had captured many American vessels and imprisoned or enslaved their crews. For the release of these seamen the United States paid a ransom of \$1,000,000; and later, in 1795, was obliged to enter into a humiliating treaty with Algiers, in which she agreed to pay an annual tribute in order to secure the freedom of the Mediterranean

to American commerce. In this she but followed the example of European nations in their relation to the pirate states.

Spain at that time had come into possession of Florida and the country west of the Mississippi River. She held New Orleans, which controlled the navigation of the Mississippi, and soon began interfering with the free navigation of that stream. She also insisted on placing the boundary of West Florida farther north than the United States would concede. By treaty with Spain in 1795 the free navigation of the Mississippi was secured, and the northern limit of Florida was fixed.

England had not surrendered the western posts, as she had agreed. With these posts in her possession, she provoked uprisings among the Indians. On the sea she interfered with American commerce, even capturing American vessels and forcing American seamen into the British service. England and France being at war, each sought the sympathy of America. Washington, by proclamation, declared the United States a neutral nation, friendly to both belligerents. England retaliated by issuing a decree called Orders in Council, which forbade the United States having commercial relations with France. Congress responded with an embargo act, forbidding American commerce with Great Britain. The two countries were rapidly drifting toward war, when Washington dispatched John Jay to negotiate a treaty with England. Jay's treaty, made in 1795, quieted the trouble, though its terms provoked bitter opposition in America.

France had assisted America during the Revolution, and that country held that the treaty of 1778 bound us to return the favor now. Many Americans were anxious to do so, for in the war which France and England were waging, France held the popular sympathy. Washington, however, insisted on the country's remaining neutral, much to the disgust and anger of the French. The French minister to the United

States, M. Genet, fitted out a number of privateer ships, which he manned with American crews. These began preying upon the commerce of Great Britain. Our government objected, but Genet continued in defiance of its wishes and demands. So high-handed had Genet's interference become that Washington demanded his recall.

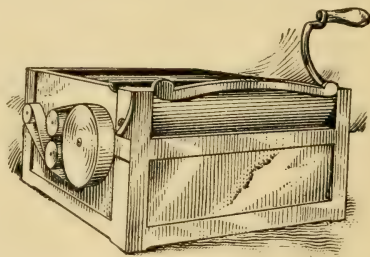
305. The Indian Trouble in the Northwest: Wayne's Decisive Victory—1794.—The Indians in the Northwest Territory, secretly encouraged by the British, were giving the United States much trouble. Two government expeditions against them had already met with disaster—one under General Harmer, and the second under General St. Clair, governor of the Northwest Territory. St. Clair's army of two thousand men had been almost completely cut to pieces. Washington now dispatched "Mad Anthony" Wayne to the seat of the trouble. Wayne in 1794 met the savages at a point near the present city of Toledo and routed them. In the treaty which followed, the Indians agreed to abide by the sale of land they had formerly made. This opened up the way for the rapid settlement of the Ohio valley.

306. The Whiskey Insurrection—1794.—The excise tax provoked opposition among the distillers in North Carolina, Virginia, and Pennsylvania. In western Pennsylvania an open revolt occurred, known as the Whiskey Insurrection. The insurgents refused to pay the tax, even going so far as to tar and feather the revenue collectors. A state of lawlessness prevailed, when Washington called out fifteen thousand militia. This army, under General Henry Lee, marched to the scene of the difficulty and promptly suppressed the revolt. Thus was the new government enabled to show its ability to enforce its own laws and to "insure domestic tranquillity."

307. New States: Vermont—1791; Kentucky—1792; Tennessee—1796.—Three new states were admitted during Washington's administration. Vermont was admitted as a free state, her constitution prohibiting slavery. Kentucky and Tennessee were admitted with constitutions permitting slavery.

308. Eli Whitney's Cotton Gin and Its Relation to Slavery—1792.—The question of slavery in the Constitutional Convention had been settled only by compromise—South Carolina and Georgia having stubbornly opposed all interference with slavery. The sentiment in the northern states was in favor of its abolition. The sentiment in the south in favor of emancipation had grown very feeble, when it was completely extinguished in 1792 by the invention of the cotton gin by Eli Whitney. Seldom has an invention had so great an effect upon a single industry as had Whitney's invention on the cotton industry in the south, where it was asserted that in the cultivation of cotton, slave labor could not be dispensed with—and thus slavery was to be continued because a great industry demanded it.

309. The First Census—1790.—Two years before the invention of the cotton gin the first census had been taken. This revealed the fact that the United States had a total population of 3,929,827. Of this population, 697,897 were negro slaves—40,370 of them being north of Mason and Dixon's line, and 657,527 south.



ELI WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN

310. Washington's Farewell Address.—The term of office of president of the United States is four years, and extends from March 4 to March 4. Washington, having served out his first term, was unanimously reëlected in 1793. As the period of his second term drew to a close, he signified his intention of retiring from public life. This intention he made public in a farewell address to the people of the United States, which was first published in the Philadelphia "Daily Advertiser" September 17, 1796. The address is full of the most profound wisdom, and ranks as one of the classics in

our literature. In it Washington bade the people beware of entangling foreign alliances. He deprecated the extreme bitterness of party strife; he urged upon the people the cultivation of a national spirit, insisting that above all else they should be Americans, and true to the underlying principles upon which the American nation had been founded.

311. The Presidential Election of 1796.—No sooner had Washington signified his intention of retiring than a contest ensued between the Federalists and the Democratic-Republicans for the control of the government.

Adams, as the candidate of the Federalists, advocated a strong government, defended the establishment of the United States Bank, the assumption of the state debts, Jay's treaty with England, and insisted on keeping free from European politics.

Jefferson, as the candidate of the Democratic-Republicans, took the opposite side of these questions, excepting that he was equally anxious to avoid foreign entanglement. He insisted on the greatest simplicity in the administration of the government. His party was in sympathy with France.

The parties being very evenly divided, the contest was waged with great bitterness. The Democratic-Republicans charged Adams and his followers with a leaning toward monarchy and sympathy for England,—taunting them with ingratitude toward France, their late benefactor. On their part, the Federalists charged Jefferson with an attempt to build up the state at the expense of the central government,—taunting him with being in league with the Jacobins of France.

Adams was elected by a majority of three; Jefferson, by the rule then in vogue, having received the next highest number of votes, became vice-president.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN ADAMS

FEDERALIST: 1797-1801

312. John Adams, the second president of the United States, was the son of a Massachusetts farmer. At the age of twenty, he graduated from Harvard College; he afterwards taught school, and was later admitted to the bar. As a lawyer, he ably defended the British soldiers at the time of the Boston Massacre. He was a member of both Continental Congresses, and of the committee which framed the Declaration of Independence. Through his influence the Dutch republic acknowledged the independence of the United States. He was minister to that country in 1782. He was a member of the American Peace Commission which negotiated the treaty at the close of the Revolution. In 1785 he was appointed minister to the English court. On his return in 1788, he was elected vice-president of the United States. In politics he was a Federalist. He supported the policy of Washington in the trouble with England, and became the strong opponent of Thomas Jefferson.

He was born in 1735, and died on July 4, 1826, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence. The coincidence has been remarked in history that Thomas Jefferson expired on the same day. Though for many years political and personal enemies, Adams and Jefferson in later life became reconciled.

Adams was a ready speaker and writer, although often indiscreet both in speech and in the use of his pen. Though popular with the mass of his party, he failed of reelection owing to the fact that many of the Federalist leaders refused to indorse him on account of his energetic support of the Alien and Sedition laws.

313. Trouble with France.—In the very beginning of his administration, Adams was confronted by trouble with France, which had been brewing since Jay's treaty with Eng-

land. The French government held that that treaty was a violation of the treaty made between France and the United States in 1778, and charged the United States with ingratitude. The Democratic-Republicans had openly expressed their sympathy for France; while Adams and the Federalists, following the example of Washington, insisted on neutrality. Diplomatic relations between the two countries were on the point of being severed, when Adams dispatched three special envoys to France to reëstablish, if possible, friendly relations between the two republics.

314. The X, Y, Z Correspondence: "Millions for Defence; Not One Cent for Tribute."—The commissioners arrived in France, but found it impossible to obtain an interview with Talleyrand, the French Minister of Foreign Affairs. Instead of granting an interview, that wily diplomat designated three agents to treat with the American envoys. The negotiations were carried on by correspondence. In the dispatches to the American government, the American commissioners designated Talleyrand's agents by the letters "X," "Y," and "Z," instead of by name. On the side of France this correspondence was not only disrespectful to the United States, but discreditable to the French government as well. The French agents even went so far as to hint that in the settlement of the dispute, a bribe from the United States would be acceptable to the French minister, to which Charles C. Pinckney, one of the American commissioners, indignantly replied that the United States had "millions for defence, not one cent for tribute." Negotiations were at once broken off, and the commissioners returned home.

315. War with France Averted.—When the "X, Y, Z" correspondence was published in America, it produced bitter feeling against France. Even the Democratic-Republicans resented the insult, and now consented to follow the lead of the Federal party and, if need be, to meet the issue by a declaration of war. All treaties with France were declared to be no longer binding. While war was not proclaimed,

congress voted to create an army. Washington was to be at its head, and Hamilton, second in command. It was also voted to build a navy. Merchant ships were authorized to arm themselves for the purpose of seizing French ships on the high seas. War had actually begun on the sea when Talleyrand, now alarmed at the turn affairs had taken, disavowed the insults offered by his agents, and proposed to receive any minister whom the American government might send. Adams, acting promptly, dispatched ambassadors to France. These being courteously received by the French minister, all danger of war was averted.

316. The Alien and Sedition Laws—1798.—By his prompt action in averting war, Adams lost the support of at least one-half the Federal party—the Federalists being in favor of war; but he gained, on the other hand, the respect of the Democratic-Republicans. This he could no doubt have held, had it not been that congress, during the heat of the excitement, unwisely passed the Alien and Sedition laws.

Many foreigners in America (particularly those from France) were suspected of plotting against the government. The Alien Act authorized the president to order out of the country all foreigners whose presence was suspected of being dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States.

At this time, too, the government encountered much opposition from the partisan press of the country. It was charged by the Federalists that the editorials of this press were scandalous and malicious, and were intended to bring disrepute upon the national government by stirring up sedition. The Sedition Act provided for the fining and imprisonment of any person who should print or publish any false, scandalous, or malicious writing against the government, congress, or the president.

These laws provoked bitter opposition in every part of the country. The president declined to exercise his authority under the Alien Act; but aided in prosecutions under the Sedition Law. In so doing Adams not only destroyed his

chance of reelection, but assisted in the complete downfall of the Federal party.

317. The Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions—1798.—

During the controversy over the Alien and Sedition laws, the first serious collision between the friends and opponents of the "state's rights" theory occurred. Both the Virginia and the Kentucky legislatures passed resolutions denouncing the laws—the Kentucky resolutions being especially outspoken in declaring that any state could nullify a law of the national government when such law was "unconstitutional." The expiration of the Alien and Sedition laws removed the cause of the trouble, but the doctrine thus voiced became a disturbing element in legislation—leading, in 1861, to the Civil War.

318. The Second Census—1800.—The second census of the United States was taken in 1800, showing a total population of 5,305,937 (including 993,041 slaves)—an increase of thirty-five per cent over the census of 1790.

319. John Marshall, Chief Justice of the Supreme Court—

1801.—As one of the last acts of his administration, Adams appointed John Marshall chief justice of the supreme court of the United States. No wiser appointment has ever been made by a president of the republic. The opinions which Chief Justice Marshall rendered during the thirty-five years of his service are to-day considered as authority upon all questions of constitutional law. By his broad, clear, and statesmanlike interpretation of the constitution, he greatly aided in establishing a firm national union, and imparted life and vigor to the constitution.

320. The Presidential Election of 1800.—The presidential election of 1800 was even more bitter than that of 1796. Adams and Jefferson were again the candidates of their respective parties. The vice-presidential candidates were Charles C. Pinckney, Federalist, and Aaron Burr, Democratic-Republican. The constitution at that time provided that the person receiving the highest number of votes in the

electoral college should be president; the person receiving the next highest, vice-president. When the electoral votes had been counted, it was found that Jefferson and Burr had each received seventy-three votes—thereby tying the two candidates on the Democratic-Republican ticket. Under the constitution, it now devolved upon the house of representatives to make the choice between these two candidates. As the time for the election by the house drew near, the excitement became intense. The Federalists, hoping to defeat Jefferson, decided to throw their votes to Burr. A bitter contest resulted, ending in the election of Jefferson for president and Burr for vice-president.

This unfortunate contest led to the adoption of the Twelfth Amendment to the constitution, which provides that the votes of the electoral college shall be cast separately for president and for vice-president.

JEFFERSON'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN: 1801-1809

321. Thomas Jefferson, third president of the United States, was the first president to be inaugurated at the new national capital—the city of Washington having become the seat of government in 1800. Jefferson was the author of the Declaration of Independence; he had served several terms in the Continental Congress; and had been governor of Virginia. In 1785 he succeeded Benjamin Franklin at the court of France. On his return to America, he became secretary of state under Washington, and later served as vice-president during the administration of John Adams. He founded the Democratic party, and was its undisputed leader even after he had retired to private life. As a protest against the Alien and Sedition laws, he drafted the Kentucky resolutions of 1798.

He was a graduate of William and Mary College, and was a believer in the education of the masses. He founded the University of Virginia a few years before his death. On his

retirement to private life, on his estate at Monticello, he carried on an extensive correspondence with prominent personages in Europe and America. On account of his learning he was called "The Sage of Monticello."

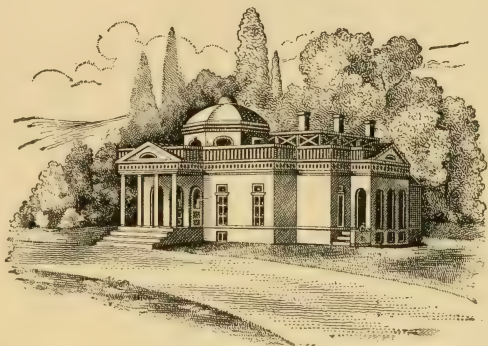
On assuming the presidency, he held that it was unbecoming the republic to imitate the customs of the monarchies of Europe, and in his administration he introduced extreme reforms. He abolished the presidential receptions, sent his annual messages to congress by messenger, reduced the number of foreign ministers, reduced the navy, and advocated the greatest economy in the public expenditures.

Provoked by the fact that Adams, just before retiring from office, had appointed many Federalists to government positions, Jefferson began the system of the removal of political opponents from office, which afterwards became known as the "spoils system"—sometimes referred to as "rotation in office."

On becoming president, he appointed as his secretary of state, James Madison, whom he had selected to succeed him in office.

Jefferson served two terms as president, being reëlected in 1804 by a vote, in the electoral college, of one hundred sixty-two to fourteen. He was born in Virginia in 1743, and died at Monticello, that state, in 1826.

322. The Louisiana Purchase—1803: Territorial Expansion.—The greatest event of Jefferson's administration was



MONTICELLO

the purchase of Louisiana (1803) from the French government under Napoleon Bonaparte. Spain had owned this territory from the close of the French and Indian War to the year 1800, when she secretly transferred it to France. This vast territory consisted of New Orleans and its adjacent territory, and extended westward from the Mississippi River to the Rocky Mountains, and from the Gulf of Mexico and Texas on the south to the British possessions on the north,—though its northern and southern boundaries were not definitely established. Jefferson, in order to accomplish this purchase, had to depart from his “strict construction” theory, but he recognized that the possession of this territory was of vital importance to the future of the United States. The government had always had more or less trouble with Spain on account of Spanish interference in the navigation of the Mississippi River, and it was well known that France would be no less troublesome.

James Monroe, whom Jefferson appointed as special envoy, closed the negotiations for the purchase already completed by Livingston, the regular minister at the court of France. Though Napoleon had agreed with Spain never to cede the territory to any other power, he was so pressed for money on account of the wars in which he was engaged, that Livingston succeeded in making the purchase for \$15,000,000. In addition to this sum, the United States agreed to pay all debts due from the French government to the American citizens.

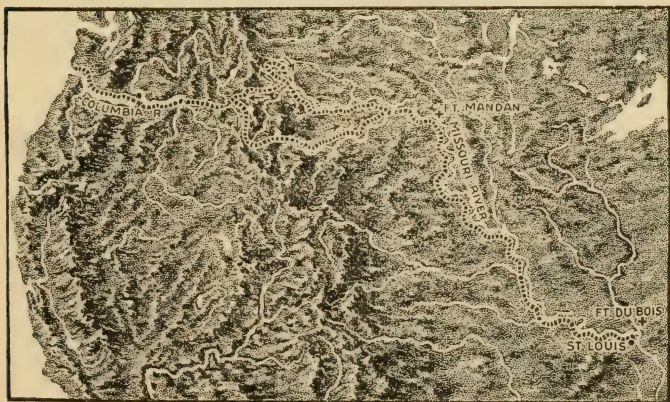
Although little was known of this vast territory at that time, later years demonstrated the wisdom of Jefferson’s purchase. By this purchase, the United States secured the absolute control of the Mississippi River, and came into possession of that rich and valuable territory from which has been carved a large number of the best states of the American Union.

323. The “Territory of Orleans” and the “District of Louisiana.”—Soon after the purchase of this territory, congress divided it into the Territory of Orleans and the District

of Louisiana. The boundary line between the two was the 30th parallel of north latitude.

The Territory of Orleans had at that time a population of fifty thousand people, one-half of whom were slaves. The city of New Orleans itself numbered eight thousand. The settlers were engaged in the cultivation of the cotton and the sugar plant—the latter had but recently been introduced from the West Indies. From the production of these two plants vast fortunes were being made by the planters of that section. New Orleans was rapidly becoming a center of wealth, and a tide of immigration accordingly set in toward the new territory.

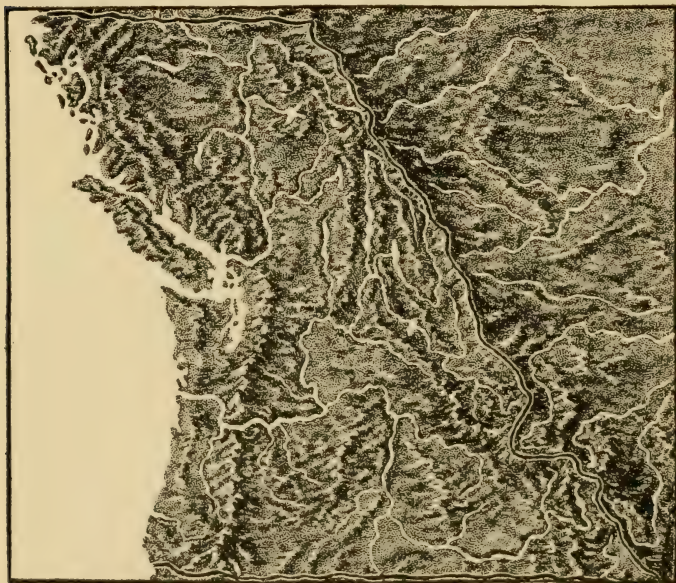
In the District of Louisiana the white population did not exceed five thousand people. This was now set apart as an "Indian country," and a movement was set on foot to induce the Indians to receive it in exchange for land east of the Mississippi River—a policy which succeeded only in later years. For purposes of government, the District of Louisiana was attached to the Territory of Indiana.



ROUTE OF THE LEWIS AND CLARK EXPEDITION

324. The Lewis and Clark Expedition—1803-1806.—After the Louisiana purchase, congress passed an act providing for

the exploration of the territory thus acquired. Under this act, the Lewis and Clark expedition was organized in 1803. Starting at the city of St. Louis, in 1804, Merriwether Lewis and William Clark, with a small company of men, ascended the Missouri River to its source in the Rocky Mountains; crossed to the head-waters of the Columbia River, and floated down that stream to the Pacific Ocean. After an absence of two years, they safely made the return trip, reaching St. Louis in 1806. All the members of this courageous little band of explorers were granted large tracts of public land by the government, and the officers were given additional remuneration. Lewis became governor of the Territory of Louisiana, which was organized shortly after his return.



OREGON COUNTRY

325. The Oregon Country and Astoria.—On the strength of Lewis and Clark's report, the United States at once laid claim to that stretch of country since known as the "Oregon

country"—comprising the present states of Oregon, Washington, and Idaho, and a portion of British Columbia.

The Oregon country had been visited in 1792 by Captain Gray of Boston, in his ship *Columbia*. While engaged in trafficking with the Indians on the Pacific coast, he had discovered and named the Columbia River in honor of his ship. In that day, as in the days of the early explorers, the possession of the mouth of a river carried with it the right to all the country which it drained; thus, since the Columbia River drained practically the whole of the "Oregon country," the United States, encouraged by the reports of Lewis and Clark, laid claim to the country on the strength of Captain Gray's discovery. The Pacific Fur Company, an organization founded in New York by John Jacob Astor, strengthened our government's claim by founding a settlement at Astoria (1811), on the Columbia River.

326. Ohio Admitted to the Union—1803.—Ohio, the first state to be formed out of the Northwest Territory, was admitted to the union in 1803, as the seventeenth state. Her constitution provided liberally for the support of her public schools, and prohibited slavery.

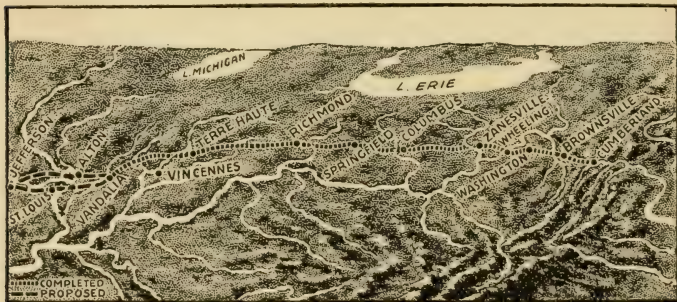
327. Duel between Hamilton and Burr—1804.—Alexander Hamilton and Aaron Burr had been political enemies from the time of the organization of the government. Burr, while still vice-president of the United States, became a candidate for governor of New York. Hamilton, now a private citizen, threw his influence against Burr, thereby defeating him. Burr, embittered by his defeat, challenged Hamilton to a duel. Hamilton thought that he could not decline the challenge. They met on the dueling field opposite New York city, and at the first fire, Hamilton received his death wound at the hand of Burr.

The result of this duel produced intense excitement throughout the country, and served to call attention forcibly to the crime of dueling. That method of settling disputes now came under the ban of public censure in the north,

though in the south it was still approved. A grand jury in New Jersey at once indicted Burr for murder.

328. Burr's Conspiracy in the Southwest and His Trial for Treason—1807.—Burr, now a fugitive from justice, went into the southwest country, where he became involved in the organization of some mysterious scheme, the full nature of which has never been known. It is believed that he planned to establish an empire in the southwest, the same to include Texas and a portion of the territory of the United States, with New Orleans as its capital. Burr, of course, was to be its emperor. He was so strongly suspected of conspiracy against the government that Jefferson issued a proclamation in 1806 which led to his arrest a year later on the charge of treason. In the resulting trial at Richmond, Virginia, this charge, however, was not sustained, and Burr went free.

329. The Cumberland National Road—1806.—In the year 1806 congress passed an act providing for the building of a



THE CUMBERLAND NATIONAL ROAD

national road—the same to extend from Cumberland, Maryland, to Wheeling, West Virginia,—a distance of one hundred forty miles. The development of the western country made such a road almost an imperative necessity. The road was completed to Wheeling in 1820, and later surveyed westward as far as Jefferson City, Missouri. By 1838 it had

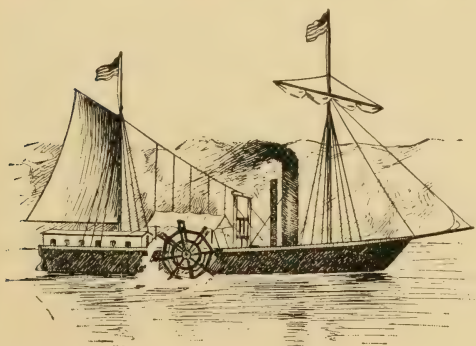
been completed to within a few miles of St. Louis,—a distance of nearly eight hundred miles,—when work was discontinued owing to the fact that the railroad had superseded it. Portions of it were then transferred to the several states through which it passed, on the condition that the states would keep it in repair.

As a means in the development and growth of the great west, the Cumberland road was an important factor. For years along this national thoroughfare, there was poured into the western country a vast population—the inhabitants of future states which were destined to give additional strength and stability to the national government.

330. Robert Fulton and the First Steamboat—1807.—

Robert Fulton was the second American inventor to attract

world-wide attention. He invented and perfected the steamboat *Clermont*, with which, in 1807, he made a successful trip from New York to Albany and return, traveling at the rate of five miles per



THE FIRST STEAMBOAT

hour This invention was soon to revolutionize the commerce of the world.

331. The Barbary States and the Tripolitan War—1803-1805.—The Barbary states were a group of pirate states located along or near the northern coast of Africa, of which the chief were Algiers, Tunis, Tripoli, and Morocco. These states made their living by preying upon the commerce of other nations or demanding tribute money. By the treaty with Algiers in 1795, the United States agreed to pay tribute

to the pirates of that country. She later entered into a similar treaty with Tunis, but in spite of this annual tribute, American commerce continued to be molested, and her officers insulted. In 1800, a few of these states made a demand upon President Adams for more tribute money. The following year, a similar demand was made upon his successor. Jefferson replied by sending a fleet of American war vessels under Commodore Dale to make a demonstration (1801) on the coast of the pirate states. A pirate cruiser was captured, and for a time American commerce had the freedom of the Mediterranean.

Two years later, however, congress declared war against Tripoli, which was concluded by a treaty of peace in 1805. In this war, Lieutenant, afterwards Commodore, Decatur first distinguished himself as a naval officer. The American fleet captured many vessels, though it suffered the loss of the frigate Philadelphia, under Captain Bainbridge, who, with all his crew, fell into the hands of the Tripolitans. By the provisions of the treaty, these prisoners were ransomed by the payment of \$60,000.

332. Trouble with Great Britain and France.—Jefferson did not escape his share of trouble with Great Britain and France. Under Napoleon, war between these two countries had been renewed with vigor, and nearly all the nations of Europe had become involved. The United States, remaining neutral, was soon engaged in carrying nearly the whole of the commerce of Europe—a circumstance which made England exceedingly jealous of the growing commercial importance of the young republic. Many American sea-captains, however, became so bold as to abuse their rights as neutrals. Supplies for France were sent to American ports; here transferred to American ships, and sent to France under a neutral flag. England, glad of an excuse, retaliated by capturing American vessels suspected of carrying French cargoes, and renewed her old policy of stopping and searching American vessels for British deserters, and of impressing American seamen.

As the war continued, American trade suffered more and more at the hands of both England and France. After England's great naval victory at Trafalgar (October, 1805), her sea-captains became insolent in the extreme, practically establishing a blockade of the American ports, and capturing American vessels indiscriminately,—almost as soon as they had put to sea. American commerce thus became a bone of contention between these two powers, now engaged in a death grapple for the mastery of Europe.

333. The British Orders in Council: Napoleon's Berlin and Milan Decrees.—In 1806 England notified the United States that she had issued an Order in Council establishing a blockade of certain French and other European ports, and intimated that American commerce with these ports was at an end until the blockade should be raised. The United States, however, insisted that this was a "paper blockade" (meaning thereby that England did not keep men-of-war at the blockaded ports in order to enforce it), and in her turn intimated that it would not be respected.

Napoleon's reply to England's Order in Council was the Berlin Decree, which declared the British Islands to be in a state of blockade, and forbade all commerce with them, by any country whatsoever.

Great Britain's rejoinder to the Berlin Decree was another Order in Council (this time a sweeping one), which now declared all ports of France and her allies (Italy, Spain, Holland, and Germany) to be in a state of blockade, and, in effect, forbade the United States, though a neutral power, trading with any of these countries.

To this Order in Council, Napoleon retorted in a similar manner with the Milan Decree, which virtually forbade the United States trading with Great Britain, or any of her colonies, and at the same time ordered the capture of American ships which should permit themselves to be searched by English vessels.

Thus was the commerce of the United States being crushed

as between an upper and a nether millstone. If American ships ventured to trade with England, they were held subject to capture by the French; should they trade with the French, they were liable to capture by the English. One-half of the mercantile ports of the world were closed by England, the other half by France. And, furthermore, America could not even carry on trade between ports on her own coast without running the risk of being waylaid by some British cruiser insisting on the right of search and impressment.

334. The Affair of the Chesapeake and Leopard—June 22, 1807.—As a consequence of this state of affairs an event occurred in 1807 which aroused Americans in all parts of the country. The British frigate *Leopard* fired into the American frigate *Chesapeake* off the coast of Virginia, causing the latter to strike her colors. Four sailors, three of them American citizens, were seized. The Americans were thrown into prison, and the fourth man was tried by court martial and promptly hanged from the yard-arm of a British man-of-war. Hereupon the president promptly ordered all British war vessels out of American ports, called a special session of congress to consider the state of public affairs, and dispatched a vessel to England to demand reparation.

335. Jefferson's Policy of Nonresistance.—To meet these outrages committed against American commerce by England, three ways suggested themselves to Jefferson—war, diplomacy, or retaliatory legislation.

War was dismissed as impossible, the United States not being prepared for such an event. Indeed, Jefferson, as a man of peace, was at all times opposed to war, and in pursuance of this policy had discouraged the building of a navy. At the very beginning of the Napoleonic wars, congress, at Jefferson's suggestion, had authorized the building of a large number of small gunboats, mounted with one or two guns each, and intended for coast defence only. In case of emergency, these were to be manned by volunteer crews selected from the militia. When not in use, they were to

be hauled up under sheds, like a farmer's implements during the winter season. This gunboat flotilla became the laughing stock of both Europe and America.

Hoping to settle the matter by diplomacy, Jefferson dispatched James Monroe and William Pinckney to England to arbitrate the difficulties. They negotiated a treaty, but this, when submitted to Jefferson, was so unsatisfactory that he rejected it—refusing even to submit it to the senate.

The only course now left was to resort to retaliatory legislation. Accordingly, a Nonimportation Act, an Embargo Act, and later, a Nonintercourse Act, were passed by congress.

336. Nonimportation Act Goes into Effect—Dec. 14, 1807.—Congress, prior to the Chesapeake affair, had passed a Nonimportation Act (April 18, 1806) prohibiting the importation of all English goods which came into competition with American manufactures. This act, however, was to go into effect at the discretion of the president. After the Chesapeake affair he purposely delayed action on the matter until he could hear England's reply to his demand for reparation. That reply being evasive, he ordered that the Nonimportation Act become operative December 14, 1807.

337. The Embargo Act—Dec. 22, 1807.—A few days after the Nonimportation Act had gone into effect, congress, on Jefferson's advice, passed an Embargo Act, prohibiting American vessels leaving America for any foreign port. The act was unpopular, and was evaded by American seamen. It failed to bring either England or France to terms, and did great injury both to the shipping interests and the export trade of the country—while it almost ruined the farming class. Manufactures alone reaped a benefit from this unwise legislation.

338. Nonintercourse Act—1809.—Just before the close of Jefferson's administration both the Embargo and Nonimportation Acts were repealed (February 28, 1809) and replaced by a Nonintercourse Act (March 1, 1809) which forbade British and French vessels to enter the ports of the United

States, suspended all trade with those countries, and prohibited the importation of any of their products or manufactures.

Jefferson's whole policy had been to avert war, and to bring England and France to terms by restricting their commerce. But the experiment had failed—neither country had been brought to terms, and war was still threatening when he retired from office March 4, 1809.

339. Presidential Election of 1808.—Meanwhile the presidential election had taken place, resulting in the choice of James Madison of Virginia for president, and George Clinton of New York for vice-president. Out of the one hundred seventy-six electoral votes, the Democratic-Republicans received one hundred twenty-two, and the Federalists but forty-four. Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York were the candidates of the Federalist party.

In the contest, the Democratic-Republicans adhered to the principles of Jefferson, approved the purchase of Louisiana, and professed belief in the wisdom of Jefferson's Embargo Act. The Federalists railed at the purchase of Louisiana, and condemned Jefferson's Embargo Act as not included in the powers of congress to regulate commerce.

MADISON'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN: 1809-1817

340. James Madison, fourth president of the United States, graduated from Princeton College at the age of twenty-one. He became an active member of the Continental Congress during the closing days of the Revolution. Recognizing the weakness of the government under the Articles of Confederation, he put forth every effort to have the Articles amended. In the Constitutional Convention he was one of the most conspicuous members. The perfecting of the constitution was due more to the skill of Madison than that of any other man. Being a Virginian, it was largely

through his influence with the southern delegates that the three great compromises were brought about; and it was also due to his influence that Virginia ratified the constitution. The services rendered by Madison in connection with the making and the ratification of the constitution won for him the appellation "The Father of the Constitution."

After the formation of the Democratic-Republican party he immediately took a place beside Jefferson as one of its prominent leaders. He was the author of the Virginia resolutions in 1798. He served several terms in the national congress, and for eight years was Jefferson's secretary of state.

Always opposed to war, he yielded to the declaration of war in 1812, only under the threat that his party would defeat his reelection if he opposed it. Historians have held that his management of that war was feeble, due to the fact that his abilities were unsuited to the management of vigorous military campaigns.

As a man, he was modest at all times; quiet, and reserved in his manner; and noted for his refinement, his learning, and his courteous treatment of friend and foe. He served two terms as president, being reelected in 1804, with Elbridge Gerry as vice-president. Madison was born in Virginia in 1751, and died at Montpelier, that state, in 1836.

341. Effect of the Repeal of the Embargo.—The repeal of the Embargo Act came at a time when Napoleon had lost Spain as an ally,—an event which threw the ports of Spain and Portugal open to American commerce. Using these ports as intermediary stations, American seamen were thereby enabled to carry on trade with both England and France. And then, too, France and England also permitted (under special license) direct trade with America in some articles.

Under these favorable conditions American commerce revived, and American seamen were once more engaged in carrying nearly the whole of the commerce of Europe.

342. Madison's Negotiations.—The Nonintercourse Act, however, remained, and Madison at once sought to use it as a means of securing a repeal of the British Orders in Council and Napoleon's Decrees.

He accordingly negotiated with the British envoy at Washington a treaty withdrawing the Orders in Council. As soon as the treaty was signed, Madison issued a proclamation suspending the British clause of the Nonintercourse Act. This sent all the merchant ships then shut up in America flying to foreign ports. But Madison had been too hasty—when the treaty reached England it was rejected by the British government. The envoy had exceeded his instructions, and Madison was now forced to issue a proclamation renewing the act. An attempt to negotiate with France met with little better success, though the attitude of France was more conciliatory than that of England. In this, however, Napoleon was playing a desperate game of war politics in which he planned both to despoil American commerce and to provoke the United States and England to war.

343. The Macon Bill—May 1, 1810.—Thus all retaliatory legislation had failed. Congress, now tired of resistance, passed the Macon Bill Number Two, which in effect repealed the Nonintercourse Act. The bill, however, contained the foolish proviso that the president could declare the act in force against either England or France, should the commercial Orders or Decrees of either nation be continued in force while those of the other were repealed.

344. Napoleon's Double Dealing.—This proviso in the Macon Bill led to new complications. It practically said that if England repealed her Orders in Council and France kept her Berlin and Milan Decrees in force, then the United States would become the friend of England and the enemy of France. On the other hand, should France repeal her Decrees while England left the Orders standing, the situation would be reversed.

Napoleon, quick to see his opportunity, sent a letter to the

American minister at Paris, in which he pretended that the Berlin and Milan Decrees were already suspended so far as the United States was concerned, and intimated that their revocation would be announced as soon as England should withdraw her Orders in Council. Madison, misled by Napoleon's pretense, issued a proclamation prohibiting trade with England because France had withdrawn her Decrees. American ships, misled by Napoleon's trickery, now hastened to France, but they had no sooner arrived than they were seized by order of Napoleon, who was in need of supplies for his army. And Napoleon's bad faith did not stop at this—the French continued to plunder American commerce to the extent that by the year 1812 France had confiscated ten million dollars' worth of American property.

Napoleon's purpose in thus preying upon the commerce of the United States was not alone to get needed supplies, but also to prevent England from repealing her Orders in Council. In this he was successful—England now insisted that since France continued to despoil American commerce, Napoleon had not withdrawn his Decrees in good faith; and she refused absolutely to withdraw her Orders in Council.

While the United States had as just a grievance against France as against England, still her chief enmity was now directed against England—due to the successful double dealing of Napoleon Bonaparte. France, when accused by the United States of violating the withdrawal of her Decrees, at once became conciliatory and expressed a willingness to treat with the United States in a manner satisfactory to the two countries. Later Napoleon, as a reply to the charge of bad faith, publicly announced the revocation of his Decrees. Thus had Madison played into the hands of France; Napoleon's trick had been successful. All war talk in the United States was now directed against England.

In the meantime, two events had occurred which produced strained relations between the two countries and aroused the anger of the Americans against the British.

345. The Indians and the British in the Northwest: The Battle of Tippecanoe—Nov. 7, 1811.—The British troops had not been withdrawn from the western frontier and the frequent Indian troubles along the border were often traceable to British influence. Thus the people of Ohio and the northwest, remembering the British Indian policy during the Revolution, were thoroughly aroused against England and desired war. The most serious of these Indian troubles was a revolt led by the noted Indian chief, Tecumseh. This chief, with his brother, "the prophet," had been since 1806 secretly inciting the Indians against the settlers and urging the savages to resist the advance of the white man upon their hunting grounds. Many murders were committed and Indian raids indulged in. Attempts were made by William Henry Harrison, governor of Indiana Territory, to negotiate a treaty with Tecumseh, but that wily chief, while professing friendship for the Americans, successfully evaded the question and declined to call a peace conference. His actions became so suspicious that it was resolved to strike a blow against the savages with a hope of bringing them to terms and freeing the frontier from their depredations. Accordingly Governor Harrison with a few regulars and many volunteers from the western settlements, met Tecumseh's savage warriors in a pitched battle near their principal town on the Tippecanoe River (November 7, 1811), and completely routed them. Tecumseh returned to the north, where he soon joined the British in Canada—a fact which now convinced the western settlers that the British were in league with the Indians, and the people of the northwest became clamorous for an attack upon the British in Canada.

This battle brought Harrison prominently before the country as a military leader. President Madison, in a letter to congress, complimented his skill, and Indiana and Kentucky proffered him thanks. As the result of the prominence gained in this battle, Harrison became one of the chief leaders of the western army, gaining one of the early battles

of the war of 1812, in which the noted chief Tecumseh lost his life. It was largely due to Harrison's victory at Tippecanoe that he afterwards won the presidency.

346. President and Little Belt.—Off the coast of New Jersey, in May, 1811, the British cruiser *Little Belt* fired into the American frigate *President*, whereupon a battle ensued resulting in the disabling of the British sloop. An investigation was begun by the two governments, but on the recommendation of the British minister at Washington, the affair was dropped. It, however, created bitter feeling between the two countries.

347. War Declared June 18, 1812.—Following these events the war spirit in America ran high, resulting in the election of a number of young men to congress (among them John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and William H. Crawford)—all of them eager for a contest at arms with Great Britain. This congress, known as the "War Congress," voted to raise and equip an army of 25,000 regular troops, 50,000 volunteers, and 100,000 militia. A few months later it passed another Embargo Act, and on June 18, 1812, declared war against Great Britain.

348. Causes of the War of 1812.—The War of 1812 was due:

(1) To England's blockade of American ports, and her refusal to withdraw her obnoxious Orders in Council.

(2) To England's continued possession of the western forts and her inciting the Indians to commit depredations on the western borders.

(3) To England's insisting on the right of search and impressment, and to a desire on the part of the United States to annex Canada.

Two days before war had been declared, Great Britain withdrew her Orders in Council. When news of this event reached America, an attempt was made to have the declaration of war recalled, but the war spirit was too high in congress, and England, refusing to yield on the question of search and impressment, hostilities were begun.

349. The Two Political Parties and the War.—Thus had the United States been involved in war on account of her connection with the war politics of Europe. The Democratic-Republican party, through Jefferson's influence, had always had a feeling of sympathy for France—while the Federalists were kindly disposed toward England. The former party was strongest in the south and west,—among the agricultural classes; the latter, in New England and the middle states,—among the commercial class. To the New Englanders particularly, war meant destruction of their commerce. The agricultural class felt they had nothing to lose in the direction of trade, and under the leadership of Clay and Calhoun, hoped for the conquest of Canada.

350. Relative Strength of the Two Nations.—England had a population at that time of nearly twenty millions of people, as opposed to seven millions in the United States.

England, after Nelson's great victory at Trafalgar, was the undisputed mistress of the seas—she had the most formidable navy in the world; while the navy of the United States consisted of less than a dozen frigates, and eight or ten brigs and sloops. England on account of the Napoleonic wars had large armies of well disciplined troops ready to put into the field; while the policy of the party in power in the United States had been opposed to the building of a navy, and the creation of a standing army.

351. Madison's Conduct of the War.—Madison's conduct of the war did not add to his reputation as president. He was supreme as the maker of the constitution and as an able legislator in the halls of congress, but as a war president he failed. Some of the generals whom he at first selected, and some of the campaigns which he planned, reflected but little credit upon either Madison or the American army. He never awoke to a realization of the importance of the navy, always referring to American successes on the sea as "our little naval victories."

352. Events of 1812.—The American plan of operations in

1812 provided for the garrisoning of the coast defences along the Atlantic seaboard and the organization of three expeditions for the invasion of Canada—one by the army of the north, by way of Lake Champlain; another by the army of the center, by way of the Niagara River; and the third by the army of the west, by way of Detroit.

General William Hull, commander of the western army, invaded Canada by way of Detroit. On crossing the river at that point, Hull unexpectedly encountered a force of British and In-



dians under General Sir Isaac Brock. Hull thereupon hastily recrossed the river to Detroit where he soon disgracefully surrendered his entire force, consisting of two thousand men. Near the same time Fort Dearborn, on the present site of Chicago, and Fort Mackinaw, fell into the hands of the British.

General Brock, after the capture of Detroit, hastened to the Niagara frontier, where he met the army of the center under General Solomon Van Rensselaer, just on the point of invading Canada, and defeated it at the battle of Queens-town Heights.

The army of the north, awaiting the issue at Detroit and Niagara, accomplished nothing.

Thus the land operations of this year ended in total failure. The Americans, besides losing three thousand men as prisoners of war, lost the whole of the Michigan territory.

On the sea, however, the neglected American navy, assisted by privateers, did valiant service, capturing three hundred or more British merchant ships and a number of men-of-war.

The Constitution, under Captain Isaac Hull, encountered the British frigate *Guerriere* off Cape Race (August 19), and in a thirty-minute engagement so disabled the British frigate that she had to be blown up. Before the close of the war the Constitution, now under Captain William Bainbridge, met the British frigate *Java* (December 26) off the coast of Brazil, and after a hotly-contested battle of over two hours, forced the *Java* to surrender. It was in this engagement that the Constitution won the name "Old Ironsides." The American sloop-of-war *Wasp*, under Captain Jacob Jones, captured the British brig *Frolic* after a terrific battle off the coast of North Carolina, and a few days later Commodore Decatur, in command of the frigate *United States*, defeated the *Macedonian* in an engagement near the Canary Islands.

353. Events of 1813.—At the beginning of 1813 the American troops were under better discipline and were better



officered. Three campaigns were planned—the army of the north, under General Wade Hampton, was expected to invade Canada by way of Lake Champlain; the army of the

center, under General Dearborn, was to operate on the Niagara frontier and Lake Ontario; while the army of the west was expected to regain the territory lost by Hull.

At Frenchtown, on the river Raisin, General Winchester, with a large American force, was captured by Colonel Proctor with a superior force of British and Indians—the savages committing such atrocities as to horrify the entire country and place a stain forever upon the name of Proctor. Thereafter “Remember the Raisin” became the battle cry of the western army. Proctor now invaded Ohio with his horde of savages, besieged Fort Meigs, and attempted the capture of Fort Stephenson where he was gallantly repulsed. Unable to dislodge the Americans, and finding his savages deserting him in large numbers, he hastily returned to his headquarters at Fort Malden in Canada.

But one thing now prevented a successful invasion of Canada by the Americans—a British squadron under Commodore Barclay had full control of Lake Erie. At this juncture Commodore Oliver H. Perry, a young man but twenty-eight years of age, came to the rescue. Perry hastily constructed a fleet of nine vessels, attacked the British squadron, and in a short and thrilling engagement captured (September 10) the entire fleet. “We have met the enemy and they are ours; two ships, two brigs, one schooner, and one sloop,” was the brief dispatch sent by Perry to General Harrison in notifying him of the victory.

General Harrison at once embarked for Canada, drove the British from Fort Malden, and brought Proctor and Tecumseh to bay on the river Thames. Proctor was defeated and put to flight, Tecumseh killed, and the Indian confederacy went to pieces. Thus had the army of the west repelled the invasion of Ohio, gained the control of Lake Erie, dispersed the Indian tribes, and regained Michigan.

At about the same time the Creek Indians in Alabama, incited by the British, took up arms against the United States. They massacred the garrison and settlers at Fort Mimms, and were carrying everything before them when the settlers rose against them and defeated them in several battles. The Creeks, however, continued to give trouble until

the spring of 1814, when Andrew Jackson at the battle of Horseshoe Bend (March 29, 1814) defeated them with fearful slaughter, almost exterminating their entire nation.



There was much fighting by the army of the center under General Dearborn. Toronto, the capital of Canada, was captured by the Americans, but afterwards abandoned. The British attacked Sackett's Harbor, New York, and though at first successful, were afterwards driven from the place by General Brown. Fort George, on

the Canadian side, was taken by the Americans. About this time both Harrison and Dearborn resigned, and the army of the center, now under General Wilkinson, was directed to coöperate with General Hampton's army of the north for the capture of Montreal. The two armies, however, failed to coöperate, and the attempt was abandoned.

The successes on the sea in 1813 were about equal between the two navies. The American Hornet, under Captain James



Lawrence, sunk the British brig Peacock. Captain Lawrence, in command of the Chesapeake, lost both his ship

and his life in an encounter with the British frigate *Shannon* off the coast of Cape Ann. "Don't give up the ship"—the last words of Captain Lawrence—became the motto of the American sailors. American privateers made many captures of British merchant ships during the year. The British, however, still kept up their blockade of American ports, and along the shores of the Delaware and Chesapeake bays marauding bands of sailors sacked and burned many unprotected American villages and towns.

354. Events of 1814.—The British at the beginning of the war had planned the blockade of the Atlantic coast; the conquest of the old Northwest Territory; the invasion of New York; and the pushing of an army through the Lake Champlain region down the Hudson valley for the purpose of cutting off from the rest of the country the people of the New England states, who were known to be opposed to the war. The British thought that the New Englanders might be induced to secede from the United States and possibly form a union with the British provinces in Canada.

But these excellent plans all miscarried. At the beginning of 1814 their blockade was not effective; they had lost every chance of capturing Michigan and Ohio; their invasion of New York had been a failure; and they had not even been able to get an army into the Hudson valley. Moreover, the sailors from the very states which the British had hoped to see annexed to Canada had humbled the pride of the English navy. The world had been astonished at the fighting qualities of the Yankee sailors.

During the year 1814, however, England, on account of the decline of Napoleon's power, was enabled to transfer many of Wellington's veteran troops to the seat of war in America. The British government now resolved on a vigorous prosecution of the war, and determined (1) to push the contest along the entire Canadian border; (2) to effect the destruction of Washington; and (3) to capture the city of

New Orleans, which would thereby give them control of the Mississippi River.

The Americans organized three campaigns to defeat their purpose. In the northern campaign the army of Niagara, under General Winfield Scott, won the battle of Chippewa and the more considerable one of Lundy's Lane. The army in the region of Lake Champlain defeated a British army of invasion, fourteen thousand strong, under General Sir George Prevost, at Plattsburg. At the same time, Commodore MacDonough, in command of the American flotilla on the lake, repeated the brilliant exploit of Perry on Lake Erie in

the previous year, driving the British fleet from Lake Champlain. This overwhelming defeat of Prevost reminded the British of Burgoyne's disastrous invasion and led the British government to consider the proposal of a treaty of peace.

In August of this year a British fleet entered Chesapeake Bay, defeated the Americans at Bladensburg,



burg, entered Washington, and burned the government buildings. Returning to Baltimore, a land and naval force attacked that city, but the British were repulsed,—Baltimore being gallantly defended by the garrison at Fort McHenry. During this bombardment of Fort McHenry, Francis Scott Key composed "The Star-Spangled Banner"—the American national air.

The British attack on New Orleans, though organized in 1814, did not take place until January 8, 1815. On that day General Packenham, with an army of twelve thousand men, attacked the city, which was defended by General Andrew Jackson with a militia force comprising but half that number.

So well planned was Jackson's defence that the British were repulsed with fearful slaughter, resulting in the death of General Packenham and the destruction of one-fourth of his army. The American loss in killed and wounded numbered but seventy-one.

355. Treaty of Ghent—1814.—Had there been an Atlantic cable at that time, the battle of New Orleans would not have been fought,—a treaty of peace had been signed two weeks previous at Ghent, Belgium (December 24, 1814). By the terms of the treaty, peace was established, all conquered territory restored, and the old questions of dispute between the two countries left just as they had been prior to the declaration of war. The British right of search and impressment, which was considered to have been the chief cause of the war, was not even referred to in the treaty, nor was its mention insisted upon by the American peace commissioners. However, that question had been satisfactorily settled on the sea by the American sailors themselves, and the right has since never been insisted upon by the British government.

356. The Hartford Convention and the Federalist Party—Dec. 15, 1814.—The Federalists in New England had from the beginning opposed the issue of war. At the close of the year 1814, these states, suffering from a complete destruction of their commerce, were outspoken in their demand for peace. Delegates from Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut met in Hartford in secret convention on December 15, 1814, for the purpose of protesting against the war policy of the administration. Before their adjournment a false rumor was circulated that New England was threatening secession. While it is now known that no such unpatriotic course was contemplated, still such credence was given to the rumor at the time as to bring upon the New England Federalists the greatest odium. The unwise course of this convention resulted in the complete downfall of the Federalist party.

357. Results of the War.—Notwithstanding the spirit

revealed in the Hartford Convention, American confidence and national pride had steadily increased. The little American navy had commanded the respect of the nations of the world. And—greatest gain of all—the United States had permanently separated her political affairs from all connection with the politics of Europe.

However, the war also left its evil effects. The government was confronted with a public debt of \$127,000,000, of which amount \$80,000,000 was due to the war, American commerce had been destroyed, and great depression was felt in all lines of business—the finances of the country were in need of immediate attention.

358. The Second Bank of the United States—1816.—Consequently the first task of congress was to reconstruct the financial system. The charter of the First United States Bank having expired in 1811, congress had refused to recharter it. However, the state banks, which had taken its place, proved so unsatisfactory that the people at the close of the war demanded its renewal. Accordingly, in 1816, congress created the Second Bank of the United States, with a capital of \$35,000,000—one-fifth of the amount of stock being held by the government. It was chartered for twenty years, and greatly aided in restoring the finances of the country to a normal condition.

359. Tariff of 1816: The "Protective Tariff."—The manufacturing interests of the United States also demanded immediate attention. During the war, manufacturing industries had been extensively established, especially in the northern states. When trade was reopened with Great Britain at the close of the war, that nation flooded the country with English manufactures of all descriptions. Wherever these came in competition with home manufactures, the corresponding English goods were sold at a price below the cost of making the same in America. The manufacturing industries being thus threatened with destruction, the tariff bill of 1816 was passed to meet the emergency. Its purpose being

not only to raise a revenue, but especially to protect home manufactures, it was called the "protective tariff."

360. Decatur and the Algerine War—1815.—During the war with England the pirates of the Barbary states again began preying upon American commerce. As soon as the war was closed the United States dispatched Commodore Decatur with a fleet of ten ships with instructions to bring the pirate states to terms. Decatur compelled the Dey of Algiers to sign a treaty on the deck of the American flagship, by which the Dey agreed to demand no more tribute money of the United States, and to pay for all seizures made in violation of the previous treaty. Similar submission being exacted of Tunis and Tripoli, no further trouble was experienced from the pirate states.

361. New States: Louisiana—1812; Indiana—1816.—In this administration, Louisiana was admitted to the union as the eighteenth state, with a constitution permitting slavery; and Indiana, as the nineteenth state, with a constitution prohibiting slavery.

362. The Third Census—1810.—The third census, taken in 1810, showed that the United States had a total population of 7,215,791—an increase of thirty-six and one-half per cent over the population of 1800. Of this population, 1,191,364 were slaves—27,510 in the north, the remainder in the south.

363. Presidential Election of 1816.—The last two years of Madison's administration had seen the country happy and prosperous, and the Democratic-Republicans restored to the confidence of the people. The Federalist party, under the odium of the Hartford Convention, was making its last feeble struggle, and counted but little in the election of 1816. James Monroe, candidate of the Democratic-Republican party, was elected president, receiving one hundred eighty-three votes in the electoral college to thirty-four cast for Rufus King, candidate of the Federalists. Daniel D. Tompkins of New York was elected vice-president.

MONROE'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC-REPUBLICAN: 1817-1825

364. James Monroe, fifth president of the United States, had been intimately connected with the public life of America since the days of the struggle for independence. At the age of eighteen, he left William and Mary College to join Washington's army. He studied law under Thomas Jefferson, whose influence had much to do with his early advancement. He was a member of the Virginia assembly, a delegate to the Continental Congress, and a member of the Virginia Convention to decide upon the adoption of the constitution. He was one of the first United States senators from Virginia. He was appointed minister to France by Washington. Upon his return he was elected governor of Virginia. During Jefferson's administration he was again appointed minister to France, and later minister to Spain, and still later to Great Britain. As special envoy to France, he assisted in negotiating the purchase of Louisiana in 1803. On his return, he again became governor of Virginia, from which office he was called to Madison's cabinet as secretary of state.

The second term of Monroe's administration is known as the "Era of Good Feeling," party lines disappearing altogether. When Monroe was reëlected in 1820 there was but one vote cast against him in the electoral college, and tradition has it that this single adverse vote was given to John Quincy Adams in order that the honor of a unanimous election to the presidency might belong to Washington alone. The years after his retirement to private life were spent partly at his old home in Virginia, and partly in New York city, where he died July 4, 1831. He was born in Virginia in 1758.

365. The Seminole War, and the Purchase of Florida—1819.—During the War of 1812 the Seminole Indians in Florida had aided the British. These Indians, during the

years 1817 and 1818, had continued to make raids into Georgia and Alabama. After a raid it was their custom to retire across the border into the Spanish province of Florida. Here they felt secure from attack,—due to the fact that they had been told that the United States troops would not dare to follow them into Spanish territory. It was believed in the United States that the Seminoles were incited to insurrection by a few English adventurers and by the Spanish authorities in Florida.

After several failures to quell the Indians, the government dispatched General Andrew Jackson to the seat of the war, with instructions to bring the savages to submission, even if he had to pursue them across the Florida border. Jackson, always a stern and self-willed man, though cautioned not to interfere with the Spanish authorities, felt, after his arrival on the Florida frontier, that he knew better how to settle the difficulty than did the government at Washington. Accordingly, he advanced into Florida and forced the Spaniards to abandon one post and later captured their stronghold at Pensacola. He also captured two British adventurers, whom he court-martialed and hanged. Jackson's action produced great excitement throughout the United States, but both the president and congress approved his course.

The Spanish government protested, but the United States, holding Spain partly accountable for the Seminole insurrection, insisted upon its right to protect its own citizens. The king of Spain, feeling that it would cost more to defend Florida than the province was worth, offered to sell it to the United States. Negotiations were at once entered upon by which the United States came into undisputed possession of East and West Florida, by the payment to Spain of \$5,000,000.

366. New States Admitted: Mississippi—1817; Illinois—1818; Alabama—1819; Maine—1820; Missouri—1821.—Five states were admitted to the union in this administration—Mississippi as the twentieth in 1817; Illinois as the twenty-

first in 1818; Alabama as the twenty-second in 1819; Maine as the twenty-third in 1820; and Missouri as the twenty-fourth in 1821. The constitutions of Mississippi, Alabama, and Missouri permitted slavery, while Illinois and Maine came into the union as free states.

367. The Missouri Compromise—1820.—Up to the time of this administration the question of slavery had not come prominently before congress. Since the time of the admission of Vermont, a slave and a free state had been admitted alternately into the union—thereby preserving the balance of power between the free and the slave states. In 1819 Missouri and Arkansas were organized as separate territories without any restriction on the question of slavery. This arrangement was opposed in the north, where it was determined that all states formed out of the Louisiana Territory should be admitted as free states. When Missouri applied for admission to the union in 1820 with a constitution permitting slavery, her admission was therefore bitterly opposed in the north. At this time the free state of Maine was also asking for admission. The slaveholding states now opposed the admission of Maine, unless Missouri should be admitted as a slave state.

The debates in congress were heated in the extreme, and the whole country became involved in the controversy. The result was a compromise between the opposing parties, known as the "Missouri Compromise." This was an act passed by congress March 3, 1820, admitting the two states—one free and the other slave; and further providing that slavery should be forever excluded from the territory lying north of the parallel— $36^{\circ} 30'$ (the state of Missouri excepted)—the line corresponded to the southern boundary of Missouri. The question of slavery in the territory south of that line was to be left to the people as they might determine.

Through the Missouri Compromise, the contest on the question of slavery was postponed for another quarter of a century.

368. The Monroe Doctrine—1823.—At about the time of the purchase of Florida, nearly all the Spanish provinces in South America were in open revolt against Spain, and later even Mexico declared her independence. The United States acknowledged these revolted provinces as sovereign states.

At this time all the monarchs of Europe, except those of Rome and England, had formed a league known as the "Holy Alliance," the avowed object of which was to protect each sovereign in his own territorial and political rights, and to prevent interference with his system of government. Spain was a member of the Holy Alliance, and it was now rumored that she would receive its support in suppressing the revolt in her American provinces.

Monroe, in anticipation of such an event, served notice (through his annual message to congress in 1823) on the members of the Holy Alliance that they must not interfere in American affairs. In his message he set forth the doctrine that "the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers"; and that the United States should consider any attempt on the part of any foreign power to extend its system of government to any portion of this hemisphere, as dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States. He also intimated that while the United States would raise no objection against any colony or dependency then existing in America, yet any further intrusion or interference on the part of any foreign power would be regarded as "the manifestation of an unfriendly spirit towards the United States."

This declaration has ever since been known, both in the politics and diplomacy of the United States, as the "Monroe Doctrine." Its effect was to check the Holy Alliance in their proposed intervention, and Great Britain at once acknowledged the independence of the Spanish republics.

369. The Tariff of 1824: Internal Improvements.—In 1824

a new tariff law was passed which increased the duties on metals and agricultural products. Henry Clay was its great champion. This tariff bill, more than any previous bill, combined the two ideas of the raising of a revenue and the protecting of home industries. To quote Clay's words, "The object of this bill is to create a home market and to lay the foundation of a genuine American policy."

Up to this time, the leaders of the "loose construction" party had been persistent in their efforts to induce the government to make appropriations for internal improvements,—such as national roads and canals. Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, while in favor of such improvements, had opposed all appropriations on constitutional grounds. Clay, in advocating the tariff of 1824, insisted that it would raise sufficient revenue to enable the government to undertake a system of internal improvements. The passing of this tariff act practically settled this question. Soon thereafter congress, by a decided vote, declared itself in favor of a national canal system, whereupon the "strict constructionists" gradually ceased their opposition on constitutional grounds to appropriations for such purposes.

370. The Fourth Census—1820.—The fourth census disclosed the fact that the United States had a population of 9,638,191, of which 1,538,125 were slaves—19,108 in the north, the remainder in the south. This reveals the fact that emancipation north of Mason and Dixon's line was being rapidly accomplished.

371. The Presidential Election of 1824.—At the close of Monroe's administration the "Era of Good Feeling" came to an end. The Federalist party being dead, the Democratic-Republican party now broke up into factions. Four men, representing the separate factions of the Democratic-Republican party, became candidates for the presidency. John Quincy Adams, Monroe's secretary of state, represented the New England faction, and was nominated by the legislature of Massachusetts; William H. Crawford of Georgia received

the nomination of the party caucus in congress; Henry Clay was nominated by the legislatures of Kentucky and four other states; and Andrew Jackson was nominated by the legislatures of Tennessee and Pennsylvania.

Prior to this campaign, candidates for president had always been nominated by a party caucus composed of the members of congress. This plan had of late been bitterly assailed by the people in all sections of the country—with the result indicated above. Crawford was the last of the congressional caucus nominees for the presidency. Candidates were for a few years nominated by the state legislatures and later by national nominating conventions.

In the election of 1825, no candidate having a majority of all the votes, the election under the constitution was decided by the house of representatives, which chose John Quincy Adams president. John C. Calhoun was the choice of the electoral college for vice-president.

ADMINISTRATION OF JOHN QUINCY ADAMS

NATIONAL-REPUBLICAN: 1825-1829

372. John Quincy Adams, sixth president of the United States, was the eldest son of John Adams, the second president. He was a graduate of Harvard College, in which institution he afterwards held the chair of professor of rhetoric. He was an able lawyer, and a diplomat of distinguished ability. He served as minister to each of the four countries, Holland, Prussia, Russia, and England, and assisted in negotiating the treaty of Ghent. He was a United States senator from Massachusetts, and for eight years was Monroe's secretary of state.

Though a Federalist in politics, Adams, at the time of the Embargo Act, became estranged from his party and gave his support to the Democratic-Republican party until his election to the presidency. He then united with Henry Clay in forming the National Republican party. And yet Adams was not a strict party man; he was, rather, a representative

of the "independent" in politics. He favored a protective tariff, and internal improvements at government expense. Though the country prospered, his administration was a stormy one, owing to the bitter attacks of his enemies in congress, and due, also, to his unbending and pugnacious character. Yet few administrations have been marked by greater intelligence or loftier patriotism.

Adams failed of reelection to the presidency in 1828, but three years later was elected to congress as an independent member from the state of Massachusetts, in which body he served until the day of his death. Shortly after his return to congress, the house of representatives, through the influence of the southern members, passed a rule known as the "gag rule" (1836), forbidding any member presenting petitions to congress in any way referring to the slavery question. Adams insisted that this was an infringement of the "right of petition" as granted in the constitution, and with all his powers of eloquence fought the rule for nine years in every conceivable manner, and finally triumphed, the "gag rule" being repealed in 1845.

Three years later (February 21, 1848) Adams was stricken with apoplexy while occupying his seat on the floor of the house. He died two days later with the words on his lips, "This is the last of earth; I am content." He was born in Braintree, Massachusetts, in 1767. He died in his eighty-first year. On account of his eloquent defence of the "right of petition," he was known as the "Old Man Eloquent."

373. Visit of Lafayette.—On the invitation of congress, Lafayette, now aged and grey, visited America in the years 1824 and 1825, and made a tour of the American states. Old memories were revived, and the days of the Revolution were recalled, as Lafayette passed through the states on a journey of triumph. He was greeted by the remnant of the soldiers of the Revolution and by the heroes of a later day, with a warmth and devotion that has seldom been excelled. Remembering his services in the struggle for inde-

pendence, congress voted him a township of land in Florida, a large sum of money, and built the frigate *Brandywine*, as a special ship to carry him on his homeward voyage to France.

374. Death of Adams and Jefferson July 4, 1826.—On the very day on which the republic was celebrating its fiftieth anniversary, July 4, 1826, John Adams and Thomas Jefferson died. These two great men had stood side by side during the perilous days of the Revolution. Jefferson had written the Declaration, and Adams by his eloquence had done more than all others to secure its adoption. In their political life they had become estranged during the administration of Washington, but in later years the earlier friendship had been renewed. Adams died at the age of ninety; Jefferson, at the age of eighty. Both were mourned by an entire nation. A eulogy, pronounced by Daniel Webster on the lives and services of these two men, ranks among the classic utterances of that great orator.

375. The Erie Canal—1825.—The Erie Canal, begun in 1817, was completed in 1825. It connected the Hudson



THE ERIE CANAL

River, through the Mohawk valley, with Lake Erie at Buffalo. Its length was three hundred and sixty-three miles. It was built by New York state at the suggestion of Governor De Witt Clinton, who at first had hoped to see it built at government expense. Like the Cumberland road,

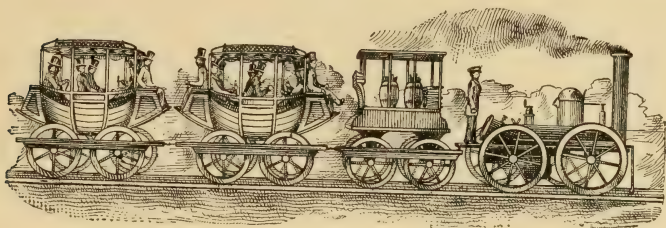
it contributed enormously to the development of the west, and to the growth and prosperity of New York city. That city now rapidly passed Philadelphia as a commercial center, and soon became the undisputed metropolis of America.

Adams's administration marked a revival of interest in the building of canals—due, no doubt, to the completion of the Erie Canal. These artificial waterways were usually built at the expense of the several states concerned, though congress made appropriations of money and granted several million acres of land to aid in such enterprises. Interest in canal construction ceased about the year 1840, when the era of the railroad began.

376. Steamboats.—No sooner had Fulton demonstrated his success with his Clermont than steamboat construction became a thriving business, the ferry boats at New York soon being propelled by steam. In 1819, the Savannah, the first ocean steamer, crossed the Atlantic. During Adams's administration steamboats came into general use, plying the waters of the Mississippi, the Ohio, the Great Lakes, and of nearly every navigable stream on the continent. In the year 1840 the business of transportation as carried on by steam navigation had become enormous. At that time as many as forty-five hundred vessels passed Cairo, Illinois, in a single year. Many of these steamboats, however, were crude affairs. The government not yet having looked after the improvement of river channels, numerous accidents and disasters occurred, which led to a demand for better facilities for transportation, leading eventually to the perfected railroad.

377. Railroads.—The first railroad in the United States was but four miles long, and was built by Gridley Bryant, in 1825, from Quincy, Massachusetts, to the nearest tidewater. This was followed two years later by a road built from the mines of Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania, to the Lehigh River. The question of transportation having laid deep hold upon the people, many railroads were projected during Adams's administration, which were afterwards successfully built.

Among these are the New York Central, Baltimore and Ohio, and the Boston and Albany. Before the close of Adams's



AN EARLY RAILROAD TRAIN

administration the locomotive, invented by George Stephenson, had come into use in America and thirty miles of railroad had been completed within the United States.

Thus it will be seen that Adams's administration was the beginning of a new era in the industrial development of the republic.

378. The Tariff of 1828, "The Tariff of Abominations."—In 1828 the question of the tariff was again before congress. The president and his friends favoring a higher tariff, a bill was passed by congress increasing the duties on fabrics made of wool, cotton, linen, and silk, as well as on articles manufactured from lead and iron. The chief object of this bill was to raise the price of foreign goods and encourage more than ever the manufacturing industries of the United States. This bill became a "sectional issue" in congress,—the southern states, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, bitterly opposing it, the middle and New England states favoring it. It was called by its opponents "The Tariff of Abominations."

379. The Presidential Election of 1828.—The presidential election of 1828 was an exciting one. Adams, supported by Clay, was the candidate of the National-Republican party, which advocated government aid to internal improvements and protection to home industries, welcomed the new era of industrial development, and clung to the old Federalist

theory of "loose construction." The Democratic-Republican party now dropped its hyphenated name, and became the Democratic party. It adhered to the principles of Jefferson, and nominated Andrew Jackson to succeed Adams.

The contest was a personal rather than a political one. Adams was unpopular, while the name of Jackson, on account of his brilliant military exploits at New Orleans, Horseshoe Bend, and Pensacola, was greeted with enthusiasm wherever mentioned. In the resulting election, Jackson received one hundred seventy-eight of the electoral votes, and Adams, eighty-three. John C. Calhoun was again elected vice-president.

CHAPTER X

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC

1789-1829

380. Development of Territory. — When Washington became the first president of the republic, the territorial extent of the United States was less than one-third of its present size. Forty years later, when John Quincy Adams became president, its territory had been pushed southward to the Gulf of Mexico by the purchase of the Floridas, and westward to the crest of the Rocky Mountains by the purchase of Louisiana. Flatboatmen could now float the products of the western farms down any of the streams between the Alleghanies and the Rocky Mountains to New Orleans without paying foreign toll. New Orleans was now a city of the United States, and produce could be loaded on ocean vessels there without hindrance. A captain could sail along the coast from New Orleans to Maine, stopping at any point he chose, and always be under the protection of the United States flag. In the four decades since Washington the nation had also grown in numbers, in ideas, and in comforts.

POPULATION

381. Numbers.—Since the inauguration of Washington a census had been taken every ten years beginning with 1790, for the purpose of having one representative in congress for a certain designated number of people. In this way each citizen had a share in the government of the nation through the congressman elected from his congressional district. By comparing the total number of people at each census we may measure the growth of population. Thus, for every person in the United States, when the first census was taken, in 1790, there were three persons in 1830. In forty years the

population had trebled. Much of this growth was due to immigration from European countries. To the small farmers of Europe the United States offered many inducements of rich soil, and to the laboring class, abundant opportunity to labor. The number of foreign immigrants increased rapidly from year to year, although varying somewhat with the years of scarcity of food in Europe and the years of plenty in America. The annual number of immigrants arriving in the United States had increased from 8,000 in 1820, to 23,000 in 1830.

POPULATION BY STATES

	1790	1800	1810	1820	1830
New Hampshire	141,885	183,858	214,460	244,022	269,328
Massachusetts	378,787	422,845	472,040	523,159	610,408
Rhode Island	68,825	69,122	76,931	83,015	97,199
Connecticut	237,946	251,002	261,942	275,148	297,675
New York	340,120	589,051	959,049	1,372,114	1,918,608
New Jersey	184,139	211,149	245,562	277,426	320,823
Pennsylvania	434,373	602,365	810,091	1,047,507	1,348,233
Delaware	59,096	64,273	72,674	72,749	76,748
Maryland	319,728	341,548	380,546	407,350	447,040
Virginia	747,610	880,200	947,600	1,065,116	1,211,405
North Carolina	393,751	478,103	555,500	638,829	737,987
South Carolina	249,073	345,591	415,115	502,741	581,185
Georgia	82,548	162,686	252,433	340,985	516,823
Vermont .....	.....	154,465	217,895	235,966	280,652
Kentucky .....	.....	220,955	406,511	564,135	687,917
Tennessee .....	.....	105,602	261,727	422,771	681,904
Ohio .....	.....	.....	230,760	581,295	937,903
Louisiana .....	.....	.....	.....	152,923	215,739
Indiana .....	.....	.....	.....	147,178	343,031
Mississippi .....	.....	.....	.....	75,448	136,621
Illinois .....	.....	.....	.....	55,162	157,445
Alabama .....	.....	.....	.....	14,255	30,388
Maine .....	.....	.....	.....	298,269	399,455
Missouri .....	.....	.....	.....	.....	140,455

When the first census was taken, nearly all the people lived between the Alleghany Mountains and the Atlantic Ocean. Only five out of every hundred of the total population had crossed the mountains, and most of these lived in what are now the states of Kentucky and Tennessee. As better roads were built through the mountain gaps and along the mountain streams, more and more settlers crossed to the fertile lands of the Mississippi valley. A glance at the map will show that the water-

ways flowing east and west are far more numerous than those running north and south. These streams were in that early day the ready-made roads for the pioneers. And, too, the first settlers in a new country usually settle along the courses of these streams. These waterways were numerous in the north and thus it was that the northern section increased more rapidly in population and created states faster than did the southern section.

382. Growth of Cities.—One thing every census of this middle period showed—that the people of the United States were not always to be “American farmers,” as the colonists had been called. With the growth of manufactures, the people were beginning to live in cities where the factories and workshops were located. In Europe the people lived for the most part in cities and villages and hence many immigrants were wont to make their homes in cities when they came to America. In Washington’s time only three people out of every hundred lived in cities; and in John Quincy Adams’s administration, only five out of every hundred dwelt in a city. It took a long time for people to learn how to pave and light their streets properly, to lay out parks, to erect statues, and to make the beautiful cities which are so numerous throughout the republic of the present day.

RELATIVE RANK OF TEN LEADING CITIES

1790	1810	1830
1. New York.....33,131	1. New York.....96,373	1. New York....197,112
2. Philadelphia ....28,522	2. Philadelphia....53,722	2. Baltimore.... 80,620
3. Boston 18,038	3. Baltimore.....46,555	3. Philadelphia. 80,462
4. Charleston.....16,359	4. Boston .....33,250	4. Boston..... 61,392
5. Baltimore.....13,503	5. Charleston....24,711	5. Charleston... 30,289
6. Providence..... 6,380	6. New Orleans....17,242	6. New Orleans. 29,737
7. Richmond..... 3,761	7. Albany .....10,762	7. Cincinnati... 24,831
8. Albany 3,498	8. Providence....10,071	8. Albany..... 24,209
9. New Bedford.... 3,313	9. Richmond..... 9,736	9. Washington.. 18,826
10. Lynn 2,291	10. Washington.... 8,208	10. Providence... 16,833

SOCIAL LIFE

383. Manner of Living.—As the people began to have better means of travel and to go more frequently from one sec-

tion to another, they began to lose the differences of dress and customs of colonial days and to assume national characteristics. There always remained, however, a difference in daily life between the New Englander, with his modest house, his cool manner toward strangers, and his devotion to business, and the hospitable southern planter, with the door of his great plantation house always open to strangers, and his determination to get some enjoyment out of life. The southerner thought the northerner cared only for money, and the northerner called the southerner a spendthrift. One in traveling saw also a vast difference between the people of the east and of the west. In the eastern states the people had easier lives, more wealth, and more leisure for study and enjoyment. In the newer western states, the "pioneers," as the first settlers were called, had to cut down the forests, to clear fields, and build cabins. They were poor and had often to borrow from the people of the east. This life was severe, but it taught people to endure, to be brave, and not to be ashamed to labor. Thus the new west gave to the older east vigor and crude manhood, and received from it civilization, art, and knowledge. The frontier produced such men as Daniel Boone, David Crockett, Andrew Jackson and Abraham Lincoln.

384. Religion.—Many had feared that some attempt would be made to fasten a particular kind of church upon the United States. They thought that the government should not try to make people attend any church or believe any creed; but should allow each an opportunity of doing what his conscience prompted. Washington, when he became president, wrote a number of letters to various religious denominations, to assure them that the government would not interfere with anyone in his religious belief. Under this freedom, the various churches prospered, and extended themselves with the spread of the people. Since the Established church was strongest in the south, its descendant, the Episcopal church, remained the leading church in that sec-

tion, although the Baptist church, which originated in Rhode Island, spread rapidly in the southern states. Likewise, the Congregational church, the offspring of the early Puritans, went with the New England people wherever they have settled in the northern states. The Presbyterian church, which had been strongest in the middle colonies, spread both north and south, as did the Methodist church, which reached America just before the Revolution. Under the constitution, the Roman Catholic church enjoyed a freedom which it never experienced in the colonies under Protestant England. With all this toleration from the government, the various sects began to tolerate each other and to prepare for the good feeling which now exists between denominations in the United States.

385. Mode of Travel.—As the people spread over the continent, better means of travel became necessary. Private companies were organized to build turnpikes on which tolls were charged. Some states undertook to build roads. The national government began the Cumberland National road. Over these turnpikes ran regular stage-coach lines, passing heavy freight wagons drawn by four or six horses. Companies, given charters by the different states to dig canals from one waterway to another, started to connect the Hudson with the Delaware, the Delaware with Chesapeake Bay, the Hudson with Lake Erie, and Lake Erie with the Ohio River. The national government gave millions of dollars for clearing the channels of rivers from snags and sandbars. In Jefferson's administration the first line of steamboats was started between New York and Albany. Just before the war of 1812, steamboats were built on the Great Lakes. Soon every navigable river and all the lakes had many lines of steamers carrying passengers and freight. When a river could not be made navigable, a canal was constructed beside it. Thus the Susquehanna and the Potomac canals were built. Just before John Quincy Adams went out of office, a railroad was begun at Baltimore. When people could go by

a railroad, they would no longer choose a stage coach or canal boat. It meant a new era of travel and trade.

EDUCATION

386. Public Schools and Colleges.—The public schools in colonial days had to compete with many private schools. Also, since they were supported at public expense, many looked upon them as a kind of charity. But in the newer states, the people were poor and could not support private schools. Thus the public school system grew in numbers and in dignity. People began to see that all children, both rich and poor, ought to have the advantage of an education. The public land granted by the United States in the Ordinance of 1787 helped to this end. The early idea of education which limited knowledge to a few subjects was broadened by putting into the schools such subjects as chemistry and “natural philosophy,” which we now call physics. The course of study in the schools of the lower grades was made much more interesting than formerly, and school books had begun to improve, although Noah Webster’s old “blue back speller,” first printed in 1783, held its own. Thousands of this little book are still sold to-day. Since 1783 its sales have reached into the millions. This book was the forerunner of Webster’s dictionary, first published in 1806—a book which has had a powerful influence in welding the American nation into a people of one language.

The Ordinance of 1787 also gave land for colleges, and two of these were opened in Ohio before 1825. Thus was begun our present system of state colleges and state universities. The graduates of the church colleges also established other colleges in the newer states as the people moved westward. These sectarian colleges were founded to train young men for the ministry of the various denominations, but they gradually opened their doors to anyone desirous of gaining an education. These newer colleges began to allow women as well as men to attend.

387. Literature.—When political parties developed during Washington's second administration, they caused a rapid increase in the number of newspapers. These papers were small and had no way of getting general news. The editors were very abusive in their political writings. The people generally read magazines containing abstract essays and sentimental poetry. The few books read were imported from the old world. About 1820, the people seemed to have accomplished their first work of clearing the forests and had leisure for intellectual affairs. Washington Irving began to write his delightful sketches and James Fenimore Cooper to write his novels. These two authors with some minor writers made the beginning of an American literature.

OCCUPATIONS

388. Agriculture, Fishing, and Commerce.—In colonial days, agriculture was followed in the fertile lands of the southern states. The people of New England on a rocky soil were obliged to turn fishermen and sailors. In making the treaty with England at the close of the Revolutionary war, John Adams, a New Englander, had insisted on the Americans sharing the cod fisheries of Newfoundland with the Canadians. His son, John Quincy Adams, had insisted upon the same right in making the treaty at the close of the second war with England. On the steeple of the statehouse in Boston was a weathervane in the shape of a gilded codfish to show the value of the fisheries. The trading and ship-building interests of New England and the middle states continued to grow.

389. Growth of Manufactures.—The rocky soil of New England and the northern states, although preventing farming on a large scale, proved a blessing in the end. The falls in the rivers such as those at Fall River, Massachusetts, and at Passaic, New Jersey,—the result of the broken and uneven surface of the region through which those streams ran,—early turned attention to manufacturing. Water-

wheels were harnessed to these falls, and made to run machinery. Corn and wheat were ground into flour, and gradually cloth was woven, nails made, iron rolled, and various manufactures begun. Washington set a good example by wearing when he was inaugurated, clothing made entirely in the United States. Yet the people had been so long dependent on Europe that American goods became the fashion very slowly. It needed the war of 1812, which shut out European goods, to develop home factories. Soon every available river fall was pressed into service to aid in the upbuilding of home industries, such as the "protective tariff" laws were passed to protect. In 1821, some men went to a rapid place in the Merrimac River, built a dam, and established the manufacturing town of Lowell, which soon grew into a great city. With the discovery of the great coal fields which underlie most of the northern states, steam power began to aid and even to supersede water power.

NATIONAL DEFENCE

390. Army and Navy.—After the Revolutionary war had closed, the army was disbanded, only a few troops being retained to guard the frontier settlements against the Indians. There was no need of a standing army such as European nations are obliged to maintain because of powerful neighbors. A standing army is also a heavy burden to the taxpayers, and is contrary to the idea of self-government. By an act of congress under the constitution, the army was put on a permanent basis of only a little more than a thousand men and officers. Each state was expected to keep a militia, consisting of men who were drilled occasionally and could go to war when it was necessary, but who did not have to be clothed, fed, and paid all the time, as did the regular soldiers. Most of the fighting in the Indian campaigns, as well as the war of 1812, was done by the militiamen from the different states. After the close of the war of 1812, the regular army was not

reduced to the former standing because troops were needed in the western and southern forts to guard settlers against the Indians. Andrew Jackson had been a general in the regular army, and was known as an "Indian fighter."

A navy, like an army, is a heavy expense. After the close of the Revolutionary war, the navy had been abandoned. The last vessel, the *Alliance*, was sold because there was no money to make repairs. But the experience with the Mediterranean pirates a few years later showed that any nation which expects to have an ocean trade must have a navy to defend it. Six vessels were begun in 1794, named the *Constitution*, the *United States*, the *Chesapeake*, the *President*, the *Constellation*, and the *Congress*. Four were finished and made the beginning of our present great navy. The war of 1812 found the United States unprepared. During the war, our navy at one time was reduced to three frigates; but others were added as rapidly as they could be built. Also private vessels were enlisted as war vessels, from which they were called "privateers." They did the best service, and really won the war. Only sufficient vessels were maintained after the war to help keep the African slave-trade down and to aid scientific investigation.

POLITICAL LIFE

391. Growth of Popular Government.—What we now know as politics,—that is, the right and duty of each citizen to bear his share of public affairs,—were developed slowly as time went on. In the old world, government had been generally in the hands of a few men like kings or princes, who managed the state for the people. There was no pattern for a republic, such as our fathers planned in the constitution, embracing such a large territory and so many people. It was natural that statesmen should differ in opinion upon the manner of conducting the republic. Jefferson, for instance, believed that the people as a whole should be allowed to manage affairs as they

thought best; others, like Hamilton, feared that the people, if left to themselves, would go too far and breed revolution. John Adams thought this could be prevented by the people choosing the "well-born" to fill the offices and to conduct the government for them.

Since ideas of government had been derived from the old world, the people at first were kept out of a complete control in several ways. They were not allowed to vote directly for a president, but chose a set of electors who would select the best man in the United States for president. Very early the people learned to choose electors who were pledged to vote for a certain candidate. The name of the candidate was printed over the list of electors. In this way the people really vote directly for the president, although that was not what the framers of the constitution had planned. About President Jackson's time, national nominating conventions were invented, which are held to this day to select candidates for the presidency. About the same time, the number of people entitled to vote was greatly increased. The feeling that the government was instituted for the protection of property was so strong that, when the first constitutions were adopted which changed the colonies into states, no one was allowed to vote who did not own a certain amount of land or pay a certain amount of taxes. The constitutions adopted by the new states when they were admitted to the union allowed all white men over twenty-one to vote, and the constitutions of the older states were gradually changed to this qualification.

CHAPTER XI

FROM JACKSON TO LINCOLN

1829-1861

JACKSON'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1829-1837

392. Andrew Jackson, the seventh president of the United States, was the son of a farmer. He had been a member of congress, a United States senator from Tennessee, and a justice on the supreme bench of that state. He won his great popularity in the wars against the Creek and Seminole Indians, and in the crushing defeat of the British at the battle of New Orleans. It being due to his course in the Seminole war that the United States had won Florida, he was appointed the first governor of that territory.

As president, he revived Jefferson's plan of removal of political opponents from office, and during the first year of his administration dismissed nearly seven hundred officeholders—ten times as many as had been removed in all the previous history of the government. He thus surrounded himself with his personal friends and impressed his strong character upon his administration.

Though Jackson was an unpolished man, and little skilled in the science of government, he possessed such native ability and inflexible honesty as to make him personally popular with the masses and the idol of his party. He came to the presidency as a military hero, and many had fears for the government under his administration. Yet he astonished his party and the country by the vigorous manner in which he upheld the government. His stern and rugged

character endeared him to the people and won for him the popular nickname of "Old Hickory." He served two terms as president, being reëlected in 1832, with Martin Van Buren as vice-president, by a vote of two hundred nineteen to forty-nine cast for Henry Clay, the candidate of the National-Republican party. When he retired from office, imitating the example of Washington he issued a farewell address to his countrymen, in which he vigorously set forth the dangers of sectionalism, the horrors of disunion, and pleaded with the American people to stand by the American union as the last fortress of human liberty.

When he retired to private life at The Hermitage—his home near Nashville—he still continued to be the leader of his party. He was born in North Carolina in 1767, and died at The Hermitage in 1845.

393. Jackson's "Kitchen Cabinet." — Though Jackson selected the usual presidential cabinet, there was but one strong man in it—Martin Van Buren, secretary of state. Jackson, feeling the need of political advisers, surrounded himself by a few personal friends, selected from outside of his cabinet, who had access at all times to the executive mansion. It was soon discovered that these men, some of whom held subordinate positions under the administration, had great influence in the securing of appointments as well as in assisting the president in outlining his policy of administration. Jackson's enemies, perceiving this state of affairs, ridiculed his repudiation of his cabinet, by designating his "personal coterie" as the "kitchen cabinet."

394. The Spoils System: "Rotation in Office."—Jackson began his administration by the wholesale removal of office-holders. In order to have more vacancies at his command he now, for the first time, took into the presidential cabinet the postmaster-general—a movement which enabled him to secure control of the postoffice appointments. In politics he was a firm believer in the rule that "to the victor belong the spoils." As an excuse for his course, he referred to

Jefferson, and is quoted as saying, "I am too old a soldier to leave the garrison in the hands of my enemies."

He did not hesitate to reduce the whole system of presidential appointments to partisan purposes. He believed in rewarding those who had worked for his election and punishing those who had not.

His policy was in marked contrast to that of his predecessor, John Quincy Adams, who, during his entire administration, removed but two officeholders for political reasons. The spoils system has, since Jackson's time, been a regular feature of American politics. Those in favor of efficiency in the "Civil Service" have, in later years, opposed its evils by insisting on "Civil Service Reform."

395. The Overthrow of the United States Bank.—In the very first year of his administration Jackson began a warfare on the United States Bank, although its charter would not expire until the year 1836. He held that the institution was unconstitutional and dangerous to the government, in that its management had become implicated in politics. So active was he in opposing the bank, that its friends came forward in 1832 and passed a bill through congress providing for its recharter. This Jackson promptly vetoed,—thus sealing the fate of the bank.

The next year he directed the secretary of the treasury to order that the \$10,000,000 then on deposit in the bank be drawn upon to discharge the government's expenses and that no further deposits be made therein. This order further directed that all future government deposits be made in certain state banks. These later became known as Jackson's "pet banks."

The senate, under the leadership of Henry Clay, protested against Jackson's high-handed policy—even to the point of passing a vote of censure upon him—but to no purpose. Whether right or wrong, he pursued his course, and his personal friend, Senator Thomas H. Benton of Missouri, saw to it, that before Jackson retired from office, the vote of censure was expunged from the records of the senate.

396. Effect of the Bank's Overthrow.—Jackson's financial policy had been inaugurated at a time when the whole country was enjoying the greatest prosperity. The country was rapidly growing in population and increasing in material wealth. There was enough money in the treasury to pay the national debt. Commerce had just been restored with the West Indies. Canals and railroads had begun to solve the problem of cheaper and quicker transportation. Through Clay's influence the national Cumberland road had been completed into the state of Illinois. The new west was being rapidly settled. Internal improvements were being encouraged by state aid. The manufacturing industries had thrived. The volume of business had steadily increased. The whole country, active, and restless, was on the eve of an era of a speculation of the wildest and most disastrous sort.

Jackson believed that the old bank had become a political machine, and therefore ought to be replaced by something better. But his methods were too heroic. The bank had been the stay of the public credit; it had been conservative, and had made safe loans. Now Jackson's "pet banks," located chiefly in the south and west, were to be substituted for it. These deposit banks were creatures of favoritism, and were increasing at an alarming rate—due to political influence with the administration. Jackson had overthrown one "political machine"; he was now building up another. These "pet banks" flourished, and were for a time held in high favor. They issued paper money, large quantities of which they threw into circulation—even the government receiving this money in payment of its revenues. Private and state banks everywhere began to spring up—many of them absolutely without capital. Before the close of Jackson's administration, as many as seven hundred of these banks had appeared, flooding the country with "rag money," as the paper currency was then called.

397. Speculation.—As a result (1) of the distribution of the public funds to the numerous "deposit banks," and (2)

of the power of these banks to issue paper money of their own, money abounded everywhere and could be easily obtained—the banks desiring to make loans, and speculators wishing to borrow.

This abundance of money gave the opportunity, and the whole country plunged into the wildest speculation—more banks were established; railroads and canals were projected and built—some projected and never built; manufacturing plants were begun and never completed; “boom towns” were platted “on paper,” and lots sold at fabulous prices; enterprises of every conceivable sort were undertaken, and still the people went wild with speculation.

398. Distribution of the Surplus.—To add to it all, President Jackson came forward in 1836 with a proposal to distribute the government surplus. By that year the national debt had been entirely paid, and there was a surplus of government funds on deposit with the “pet banks,” amounting to several millions of dollars. The Surplus Act, providing for the distribution of a large portion of this surplus among the several states, helped the states but crippled the deposit banks—\$28,000,000 being withdrawn and distributed to the states within nine months. Many of the states joined in the mad whirl of speculation by investing their share of the surplus in speculative enterprises, or in unnecessary public improvements.

Specie soon began to disappear. Jackson, hoping to check its withdrawal, threw the entire output of the mint into circulation, and required all deposit banks to maintain one-third of their circulation in specie.

399. The Specie Circular.—At about this time Jackson was confronted by a new problem, due to the rapid and unexpected increase in the sale of the public lands in the west, which were being purchased in large tracts for speculative purposes. These sales were now bringing into the government treasury in a single year as much as \$25,000,000 in depreciated bank notes. In order to check this speculation

in government land, and at the same time protect the government against the evils of this depreciated currency, Jackson issued his celebrated "specie circular," which required that all land should be paid for thereafter in specie.

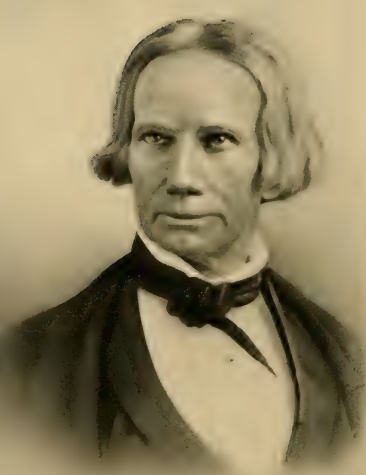
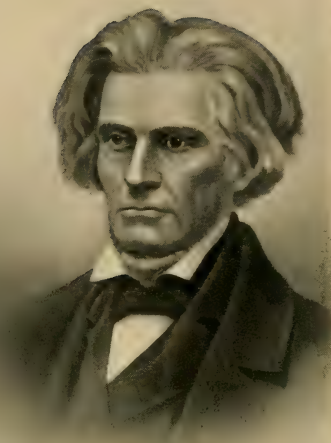
The specie circular precipitated a financial crash—but it came in Van Buren's time. Before the blow fell upon the country Jackson had retired to private life.

400. The Webster and Hayne Debate—Feb. 1830.—After the passage of the Tariff of 1828, South Carolina carried her protest to the point of "nullification,"—a political doctrine which had of late been set forth by John C. Calhoun in defence of the theory of "state rights."

The action of the South Carolina legislature aroused great excitement throughout the country, and it was felt in the north that the interests of the nation demanded that some one competent to do so should make a reply to the arguments advanced in support of Calhoun's theories.

The occasion arose sooner than expected. Senator Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina in a speech delivered before the senate in February, 1830, attacked the New England states. This drew forth a spirited reply from Daniel Webster, the senator from Massachusetts. Hayne, in his reply to Webster, boldly advocated the doctrine of "nullification," which brought forth Webster's celebrated speech in defence of the constitution—perhaps the greatest effort of America's greatest orator. This debate, known as the Webster-Hayne debate, marked an epoch in the constitutional development of the country. In it Webster won the well-earned title, "The Expounder of the Constitution."

401. The Tariff of 1832: The Nullification Act Passed by South Carolina: Compromise Tariff of 1833.—Following the Webster-Hayne debate, South Carolina was bolder than ever in the advocacy of Calhoun's doctrines. She wanted but an opportunity to declare herself. Such an opportunity was offered in the Tariff of 1832. This bill still maintained the American protective system, though the level of duties was



ANDREW JACKSON
STEPHEN A. DOUGLAS

JOHN C. CALHOUN
HENRY CLAY

NATIONAL AND STATE RIGHTS LEADERS

lowered. South Carolina's reply was the "Nullification Act" of November 19, 1832, declaring the tariff acts of 1828 and 1832 "null and void." This act further declared that the state of South Carolina would permit no tariff duties to be collected at any ports of entry in South Carolina; and finally made the bold declaration, "that, if the general government should attempt to use force to maintain the authority of the Federal law, the state of South Carolina would secede from the union."

Just three weeks later, President Jackson issued his famous nullification proclamation, in which he announced that the union "must and shall be maintained." Declaring his determination to enforce the laws of the United States, he ordered troops under General Winfield Scott to Charleston.

In the meantime, congress had passed Clay's compromise tariff bill, providing for a gradual reduction of tariff duties. This bill being satisfactory to both sides, the crisis passed.

402. National Nominating Conventions.—The presidential election of 1832 marks the beginning of national nominating conventions. The first national nominating convention was held by the "Anti-Masonic" party, a short-lived organization opposed to secret societies, which met at Baltimore in September, 1831, and nominated William Wirt as a candidate for the presidency.

In the December following, the National-Republican party met in the same city and nominated Henry Clay to succeed Jackson. In May, 1832, the Democratic national convention met at Baltimore and nominated Jackson to succeed himself as president, and named Martin Van Buren as the candidate for vice-president.

403. Origin of the Whig Party in 1834.—The leaders of the National-Republican party, finding themselves unable to muster strength enough to overcome the Democratic party, formed a union (1834) of all the factions opposed to Jackson. This coalition opposed the power of the president, whom they charged with usurpation, and took the name of

"Whigs"—in imitation of the revolutionary party which opposed King George during the struggle for independence. The Whigs, having so recently organized, made no nominations in the election of 1835. Henry Clay was their first great leader.

Strictly speaking, the Whig party was not a party at all, but a combination of parties representing many opposing views within its own ranks. This made it impossible for it to formulate any agreed statement of principles upon which all its membership could unite. It supported a protective tariff, stood for internal improvements, and a majority favored "loose construction."

The Whigs won in two national elections, but disappeared after their defeat in 1852, on account of the fact that the party became divided upon the slavery question.

404. The Black Hawk and Florida Wars.—During the years 1831-32, the Sac and Fox Indians, led by their noted chief, Black Hawk, refused to surrender certain lands in Illinois and Wisconsin, which they had ceded to the whites in 1830. In the war which ensued, Black Hawk was defeated and these Indians forced to move to the Indian land west of the Mississippi River.

In this war two young men appear for the first time in American history—Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, a captain of the Illinois militia; and Jefferson Davis, a lieutenant in the regular army.

In 1835 an attempt was made to remove the Seminole Indians to lands set aside for them west of the Mississippi. This precipitated a war known as the Florida war, characterized by the usual Indian barbarities. Osceola, chief of the Seminoles, was finally captured and confined as a prisoner of war at Fort Moultrie, South Carolina, where he died some time later. The Indians were later defeated in the battle of Okechobee (1837) by Colonel Zachary Taylor. They, however, persisted in their opposition to removal until the year 1842.

405. New States Admitted: Arkansas—1836; Michigan—1837.—Arkansas, the twenty-fifth state, was admitted to the union in 1836 as a slave state; and Michigan, the twenty-sixth, in 1837, as a free state.

406. The Fifth Census—1830.—The fifth census showed a population of 12,866,020, including 2,009,043 slaves, of which 3,568 were north of Mason and Dixon's line, the remainder south.

407. The Presidential Election of 1836.—In the election of 1836 Martin Van Buren of New York, the Democratic nominee, won over William Henry Harrison of Ohio, the Whig candidate—receiving one hundred seventy electoral votes as against seventy-three cast for Harrison. Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky was elected vice-president by the senate—no candidate for that office having received a constitutional majority in the electoral college.

The Democrats adhered to the principles of Jackson, opposed the United States Bank and a protective tariff. The Whigs stood by the principles on which the party had been organized two years previous.

In this election both the Democrats and Whigs were divided into factions. In the electoral college, South Carolina cast her votes for W. P. Mangum; and Tennessee and Georgia cast theirs for Hugh L. White, both of whom were Anti-Van Buren Democrats. Massachusetts cast her electoral votes for Daniel Webster, who with Clay had helped to organize the Whig party.

VAN BUREN'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1837-1841

408. Martin Van Buren, eighth president of the United States, was, like two of his predecessors, the son of a small farmer. He was admitted to the bar in 1803, and soon won distinction as an able lawyer. Like Jackson, Van Buren was a self-educated man, but he far excelled the former in polish and culture. He was a man of simple tastes and

gracious manners, and, though a partisan in politics of the most pronounced type, he never allowed political differences to alienate him from friends who belonged to the opposite party, as is shown in the warm personal friendship existing between himself and Henry Clay.

Before his election to the presidency, he had served as attorney-general and later as governor of New York. He had been United States senator from that state, and had served as Jackson's secretary of state from 1829 to 1831, when he resigned to accept the appointment of minister to England. He, however, never assumed the duties of that office, due to the fact that Calhoun, Webster, and Clay combined to secure his rejection by the senate. The Democratic party immediately nominated him as its candidate for vice-president, and the following year he was elected to that office, thereby becoming presiding officer of the very body which had rejected his appointment to the court of England. Over the senate he presided with dignity and fairness, and by the close of Jackson's administration, his popularity won him the Democratic nomination, and the presidency.

After his retirement from the presidency, he still continued to take an interest in public affairs. Though defeated in 1840, for reëlection, he again sought the nomination of his party in 1844, but on account of his antislavery sentiments failed. In 1853 he was nominated for the presidency by the Free-soil party, but failed of election.

He was born at Kinderhook, New York, in 1782, and died in 1862, on his beautiful estate of Lindenwald, near his native city.

409. The Financial Panic of 1837.—The issuing of the specie circular was one of the last acts of Jackson's administration. Van Buren now assumed all responsibility therefor, and committed himself to the policy of his predecessor. Banking institutions stood the strain on their gold and silver reserve as long as they could, then bank after bank suspended specie payment until not a specie-paying bank was left in the country.

The bubble of speculation, now blown to its full limit, burst, and the whole country was overwhelmed with commercial disaster. Business house after business house closed its doors. Enterprise after enterprise shut down; every line of business in the country was overtaken by the storm; and, on account of Jackson's policy, the government, too, was involved in the ruin. Failures were every day occurrences, the losses mounting up into the millions. "Hard times" prevailed among all classes of people. Bread riots occurred in New York, and hostility toward the banks and speculating companies was shown everywhere. The states could not pay their debts. The government was unable to meet its expenses. All confidence had been destroyed and trade was at a standstill, when Van Buren called a special session of congress to consider the state of public affairs.

410. The Sub-Treasury—1840.—The policy which Van Buren adopted was to let the country recover from its business disturbances in its own way, and to aid in its recovery only by restoring the national credit. He outlined a plan known as the Independent Treasury, and for four years pressed this measure before congress, until the Independent Treasury Act, or Sub-Treasury Bill, as it is sometimes called, was passed by that body in the last year of his administration.

The Sub-Treasury Bill provided that all public money should be kept in the vaults of the United States Treasury at Washington, and in sub-treasuries established by congress; and that all payments of moneys made to or by the United States should be in gold or silver. This act for the first time in the history of the United States completely separated the financial affairs of the government from the banking interests of the country.

411. The Sixth Census—1840.—The sixth census showed the population of the United States to be 17,069,453—an increase in ten years of nearly six millions of people. Of this population 2,486,326 were slaves—an increase of nearly

five hundred thousand in ten years. There remained in the north but 1,129 slaves.

412. The Presidential Election of 1840.—Although business had revived somewhat as the time for the presidential election of 1840 approached, the country was still suffering from the effects of the panic of 1837. Discontent reigned everywhere, and the "hard times" were charged to Van Buren and his administration of the public affairs. And yet the Democratic party unanimously renominated him, thereby showing their confidence in the "Little Magician," as he was familiarly called. The Whigs again chose William Henry Harrison of Ohio as their candidate.

James G. Birney was placed in nomination at Albany, New York, by the Liberty, or Abolition party, which declared itself in favor of using all constitutional methods for the abolition of slavery.

The Democrats opposed the rechartering of the United States Bank, and all interference with slavery; they for the first time declared for internal improvements; came out boldly for a tariff for revenue only, and favored the sub-treasury.

The Whigs favored the revival of the bank and a protective tariff; and opposed the sub-treasury. They asked that a just limitation be put upon the president's power of veto.

The campaign of 1840 was unique. The republican simplicity of Harrison's home was made much of by his admirers, and the "log cabin and hard cider" campaign became one of the most enthusiastic presidential campaigns in the history of the country. The "coon-skin cap" became a party emblem. This was the first presidential campaign to introduce the great mass meetings and processions, that have since become such a prominent feature of national elections.

"Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were successfully sung into the White House, and Harrison was inaugurated president the 4th of March, 1841.

HARRISON AND TYLER'S ADMINISTRATION

WHIG: 1841-1845

413. William Henry Harrison, ninth president of the United States, was a son of Benjamin Harrison, a signer of the Declaration of Independence. On graduating from Hampden Sydney College, Virginia, Harrison began the study of medicine, but soon gave up that profession for a military life. He had served as a delegate to congress from the Northwest Territory, and had been superintendent of Indian affairs. While governor of the territory of Indiana, an Indian outbreak occurred, and his victory at Tippecanoe won him a national reputation. In the second war with England he had commanded the army of the west and had won a brilliant victory at the battle of the Thames. He had served as a member of congress from Ohio; later, as United States senator from that state, and still later as minister to the republic of Colombia, South America. In 1836 he was nominated for president, but was defeated by Van Buren.

Four years later, the Whig national convention made him their nominee, and Van Buren was again his opponent. Harrison was elected and at once surrounded himself with an able cabinet, in which Daniel Webster was his secretary of state. Just one month after his inauguration the country was shocked by the news of his sudden death. It was the first death of a chief magistrate while in office, and came as a great blow to the Whig party, which had hoped for much from this administration.

Harrison, while not a brilliant man, had shown great ability as an administrator and was a man of great prudence and common sense—a straightforward man of the people. He was born at Berkeley, Virginia, in 1773. He died at his post of duty in Washington April 4, 1841. Two days later the vice-president, John Tyler, took the oath of office and succeeded to the presidency.

414. John Tyler, tenth president of the United States, was, like many of his predecessors, a Virginian. He was graduated from William and Mary College, and was soon thereafter admitted to the bar. He entered public life in 1811 as a member of the legislature of Virginia, and later served as governor of that state. He represented Virginia in both houses of congress, where he won distinction as a United States senator.

Tyler came to the presidency under peculiar circumstances. It was the first time in the history of the government when a vice-president had succeeded to the office. Of course, all knew that such a succession was not impossible, but the leaders had given little serious thought to such an event.

Tyler was a man of strong Democratic tendencies, although somewhat independent of party ties. He had been elected as vice-president by the Whigs, with whom he had lately affiliated on account of his opposition to Jackson and Van Buren, as well as on account of his refusal to submit to all the dictations of the Democratic leaders in congress. It was known that he differed from the Whigs on the question of renewing the United States Bank, and that he was an advocate of "state rights." The Whigs, hoping to gain the doubtful southern vote, winked at Tyler's opposition to the bank, and placed his name on the ticket with that of Harrison, having no thought that the reins of government would so soon fall into his hands.

He retired from office in 1845, to his estate of Sherwood Forest, a few miles from his native town, and was in retirement until 1861, when he became a member of the Peace Convention called by President Buchanan to avert the issue of civil war. He later advised the secession of Virginia, renounced his allegiance to the United States, and was soon after elected to represent the seceded state of Virginia in the Confederate congress. He died in Richmond, Virginia, in 1862.

415. The United States Bank and the Quarrel between

Tyler and Congress.—Before Harrison's death he had issued a call for a special session of congress, which convened in the following May and continued in session until September. During that time there was constant clashing between Tyler and the Whig majority in congress. A bill repealing the Sub-Treasury Act was promptly passed. There having been many business failures during the recent commercial disaster, congress sought to relieve business men in all sections of the country from their debts by passing a general bankruptcy law. The Independent Treasury out of the way, congress now sought to restore the United States Bank by passing an act rechartering it. To the chagrin of the Whigs, Tyler vetoed the bill. The party leaders now sought a conference with the president, and secured his approval of a bill looking to the recharter of the bank. This bill was promptly passed through congress, but Tyler, disregarding his pledge, again used his power of veto.

The Whigs, angered by this unexpected opposition from the man whom they had been instrumental in placing in the presidential chair, bitterly denounced Tyler as a traitor. Led by Clay, they read him out of the party and forced him, during the remainder of his administration, to act with the Democratic party. The entire cabinet resigned excepting only Webster, who remained until he had settled the north-eastern boundary dispute with England.

416. The Tariff of 1842.—When the Whig congress of 1841 convened, it found itself facing a deficit of eleven million dollars inherited from Van Buren's administration. The time, too, had arrived when duties were to be reduced to the lowest point, as provided in Clay's Compromise Tariff of 1833. The Whigs, true to their party pledges, passed a tariff act which was promptly vetoed by Tyler. Another act was now prepared, and met with a similar fate. Millard Fillmore then came forward with a measure which, through his personal influence, he induced Tyler to support. This bill became a law in 1842, and remained in force four years.

It was chiefly a revenue bill, though slightly protective. It soon discharged the deficit, and by the end of Tyler's administration another surplus had accumulated in the treasury.

417. The Webster-Ashburton Treaty: The Northeastern Boundary—1842.—Since the treaty of 1783 there had been a constant dispute between the United States and Great Britain over the northeastern boundary—particularly that portion located on the line between Maine and New Brunswick. This dispute had at times threatened the peaceful relations of the two countries. All efforts to settle it satisfactorily had failed until the year 1842, when the two governments agreed to refer the question at issue to Daniel Webster as secretary of state, and Lord Ashburton as the representative of Great Britain.

By the treaty which they made, the northeastern boundary was established at its present limits—from the mouth of the St. Croix River on the Atlantic coast to the St. Lawrence River. The treaty also provided for fixing the northern boundary of the United States westward from the upper extremity of Lake Huron along the present boundary line, to the crest of the Rocky Mountains, leaving the northwestern boundary—northern boundary of Oregon—still unsettled.

418. Dorr's Rebellion in Rhode Island—1843.—Rhode Island had for two hundred years acted under the charter which had been granted to Roger Williams by Charles II. This, her only constitution, contained some provisions which were not in keeping with the growth of republican ideas in America. One clause was particularly objectionable—that restricting the right to vote to property holders. At the time of the adoption of a new constitution in 1843, two rival parties contested for the control of the state. The "Law and Order party," acting under the old charter, elected a governor and proceeded, in a regular way, to organize the state government under the new constitution. The

"Suffrage party," throwing the charter aside, elected Thomas W. Dorr as governor, and organized a rival government. A clash resulted, but Dorr's rebellion was soon suppressed by the aid of the United States troops. Dorr was tried for treason in Rhode Island and imprisoned, but afterwards released.

419. The Patroon War: Antirent Difficulties—1844.—A domestic disturbance also occurred in New York, called the "Patroon War," growing out of the old "patroon system"¹ established in 1629.

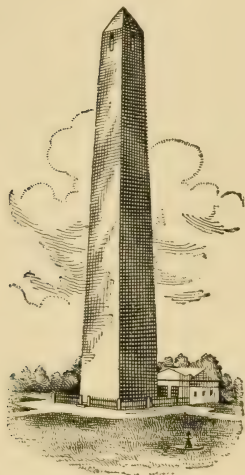
Owing to the generosity of the wealthy proprietor of one of these rich estates—the Van Rensselaer—in the vicinity of Albany, rents had not been collected from the tenants for several years. This proprietor dying in 1839, his heirs undertook to force the collection of all back rents. This collection the tenants resisted, even going so far as to heap indignities upon officers of the law, who were sent to enforce the collection of the rents. Tenants on other estates imitated their example. Finally, open revolt resulted, and riot and bloodshed followed. The aid of the military was called in and the revolt suppressed. The tenants continuing to resist, now sought relief in the New York Court of Appeals, which in 1852 gave a decision, in the main sustaining the contention of the antirenters, although the matter has not to this day been quite satisfactorily settled.

420. The Mormons. — Another domestic disturbance occurred, this time of a religious nature. The Mormons, under the leadership of their prophet, Joseph Smith, settled in Jackson County, Missouri, where they rapidly multiplied until they numbered some fifteen hundred people. Their practices and their teachings were so objectionable to their neighbors that the state of Missouri, through the aid of its militia, in 1839, ejected them from the state. Crossing the Mississippi into the state of Illinois, they laid out, on a high bluff overlooking the river, the city of Nauvoo, and there

¹ See Sec. 103, page 91.

erected a Mormon temple. Here they continued to increase more rapidly than before, their settlement numbering by the year 1844 ten thousand persons.

The greatest hostility was manifested toward this sect. They were held responsible, perhaps unjustly, for many murders and thefts which had been committed in the vicinity. Their doctrines were abhorred. An uprising against them was threatened, when Smith and his brother were arrested,



BUNKER HILL MONUMENT

taken across the river into Missouri, and imprisoned at Carthage. Here the people stormed the jail in which the "prophet" was confined, and killed Smith and his brother. Determined to drive the Mormons from the state, the Illinois legislature annulled the charter of the city of Nauvoo. Acts of violence continuing against them, the Mormons now determined to retire beyond the bounds of civilization. They sojourned for a while in the vicinity of Council Bluffs, Iowa; and a few years later transplanted their entire settlement beyond the Rocky Mountains, and began the building of a "Mor-

mon Empire" at Salt Lake City. Brigham Young succeeded Smith as the Mormon prophet.

421. Bunker Hill Monument—1842.—The year 1842 marks the completion of the Bunker Hill monument, located on the crest of Bunker Hill, Boston, Massachusetts. At the time of Lafayette's visit in 1825, that hero had laid the corner-stone, and Daniel Webster, then in the prime of life, had delivered the oration. At the completion of the monument in 1842, Webster again, at the age of sixty, delivered an oration to an audience of twenty-five thousand of his fellow countrymen.

The occasion was one of great patriotic interest in which the whole nation joined. All hearts were stirred as the great orator referred to Lafayette as the "electric spark through which liberty had been transmitted from the new to the old world"; and in a burst of the grandest eloquence paid tribute to the soldiers of the Revolution. The reference was all the more pathetic, since there sat upon the platform with the orator a few old veterans,—gray, grizzled, and bent with the weight of years—the remnant of the army of the Revolution.

422. The "Gag-Rule" and the Right of Petition.—In 1836 the republic of Texas applied for admission to the United States. The abolition societies at once sent petition after petition to congress opposing its annexation on grounds of slavery. This angered the slaveholding members of the house of representatives, which on the suggestion of the southern members revived an old rule prohibiting the house from receiving petitions in any way referring to the question of slavery. Ex-President John Quincy Adams, then a member of the house, with all the powers of his eloquence protested against this "gag-rule" as an infringement of the constitutional rights of the individual citizen of the republic.

From that time until the year 1842, the "Old Man Eloquent" persistently attacked the rule, and fought for the "right of petition." He was abused on all sides by the members from the slaveholding states, but he kept up the fight. On one occasion he introduced a petition signed by a number of slaves, whereupon the wrath of the southern members knew no bounds. The greatest disorder prevailed in the house, when the high falsetto voice of Adams rang out clear above the din, as he read the concluding clause in the petition—*begging the congress of the United States not to abolish the institution of slavery.* The slaveholding members, disconcerted and baffled, saw nothing laughable in this incident, and never forgave Adams for presenting the petition.

The whole matter came to a climax January 1, 1842, when Adams presented a petition signed by forty-five citizens of Haverhill, Massachusetts, protesting against the institution of slavery and praying that the union be dissolved. Adams at once moved that the petition be referred to a special committee, with instructions to report why it should not be granted.

The reading of the petition raised a storm. Adams was greeted with cries of "Villain!"—"Curse him!"—"Expel him!"—and the house adjourned in the greatest confusion. The next day a resolution of censure was introduced, and its adoption urged in the most vindictive manner. Adams replied in language suited to the occasion and would not be silenced. When asked how long he expected to hold the floor, his reply was, "Burke took three months for his speech in the impeachment of Warren Hastings, and I think I may get through in ninety days or less."

The southern members, now seeing that opposition to so fearless a champion was useless, voted that the resolution of censure be laid upon the table. Adams had won in the final struggle of his life. Three years later (1845) the "gag-rule" was rescinded.

423. Abolition.—The opposition to the "right of petition" had tended greatly to increase the abolition sentiment in the north. Since the year 1832 abolition societies and antislavery societies had been everywhere organized, and now counted their membership by the thousands.

William Lloyd Garrison, with his weekly newspaper, "The Liberator," had kept the whole country aroused. Through his influence abolition literature had been circulated even in the south. In Jackson's time, the postmaster-general had directed that all such literature be excluded from the mails. This action only hastened the growth of the abolition movement.

From 1833 to 1837, Elijah P. Lovejoy edited "The St. Louis Observer," an abolition paper, in which he ardently

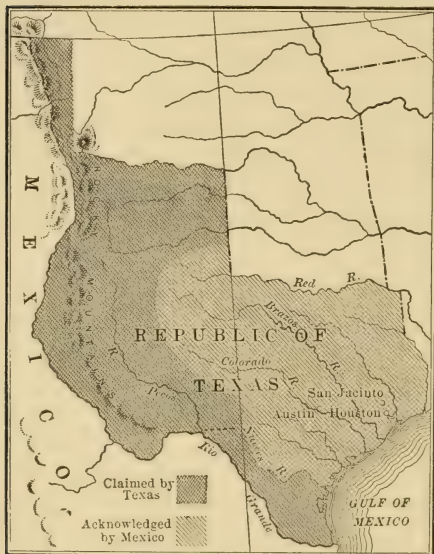
attacked slavery. On account of violent opposition from the proslavery element in that city, he had moved (1836) across the river to Alton, Illinois, where he was attacked by a mob and killed (1837) and his press destroyed and thrown into the river. This tragedy on the Mississippi bluff caused intense excitement throughout the country, which grew in intensity as it rolled eastward into the New England states, where it gave to the antislavery cause its most brilliant advocate—Wendell Phillips. In a thrilling address at a mass meeting in Faneuil Hall—the Cradle of Liberty—made in reply to a speech by the state's attorney of Massachusetts, in which that officer sought to excuse the mob at Alton, Phillips so roused his audience and the entire country that he at once sprang into national prominence as the champion of human liberty. From that day on, the name of Wendell Phillips was coupled with that of William Lloyd Garrison—the great leader of the antislavery forces.

424. The Republic of Texas, a Disturbing Element in National Politics.—The greatest event in the administration of Tyler was the annexation of Texas. Moses Austin, of Connecticut, having secured permission of the Spanish government, founded a colony in the province of Texas in 1821, where he took with him the spirit of Yankee thrift and enterprise. The soil being rich and the climate attractive, the colony made rapid growth. Its success at once attracted attention in the United States. Jackson, while president, made an effort to purchase the province of Texas from the Mexican government, but all offers were rejected. This failure, however, did not check the tide of immigration which continued to pour into the province of Texas from the United States.

Austin and his followers had carried with them the institution of slavery. This institution was now attacked in 1835 by the Mexican government, which issued a proclamation granting freedom to every slave in Mexican territory and making Mexico a consolidated state. This proclamation

aroused the opposition of the Texans, who immediately declared their independence and set up a government at Austin. A war resulted, which under the leadership of General Samuel Houston was fought to a successful issue at the battle of San Jacinto, whereupon the Texas republic was established (1836) with a constitution favoring slavery. General Houston became its president. The limits of the new republic were not clearly defined. Mexico insisted that

Texas did not extend beyond the Nueces on the southwest and stopped on the west at a boundary far within the Texas claims. In fact Texas asserted the right to over twice the territory which Mexico admitted to belong to her. Here were the seeds of future war. The independence of the Texas republic was soon acknowledged by the United States, England, France, and Belgium.



Texas at once applied for admission into the American union. From that date (1836) until its annexation had been accomplished, Texas became a disturbing political question in national politics.

425. Annexation of Texas—1845.—When Texas first applied for admission in 1836, congress was flooded by petitions from the north opposing its admission on the grounds of slavery. On the other hand, annexation was strongly urged in the south. And yet neither political party seemed

to be able to unite all its forces on either side of the question—the southern Democrats and “states’ rights” Whigs favored it, while the northern Democrats and the “free-state” Whigs arrayed themselves against it. The question therefore became a sectional issue. Van Buren, though urged by the southern Democrats, opposed annexation during his entire term. In Tyler’s administration, however, the Democrats, under the leadership of John C. Calhoun, made annexation a party issue and declared for the admission of Texas. The Whigs, under the leadership of Henry Clay, now united in opposition. This precipitated a bitter contest, in which those favoring annexation won. Congress, on December 29, 1845, passed a joint resolution annexing Texas to the United States, and admitting it into the union as one of the states of the republic.

426. New States Admitted into the Union: Texas—1845; Florida—1845.—Before the admission of Texas, Florida, with a constitution favoring slavery, had been admitted into the union as the twenty-seventh state. Texas was admitted as the twenty-eighth state.

427. Samuel F. B. Morse and the Telegraph—1844.—In the year 1844 Samuel F. B. Morse, while sitting in a small office in Baltimore, placed his fingers upon the key of a small magnetic instrument which, with its mysterious clickety-click-click, instantly flashed to a friend in Washington this message: “What hath God wrought!”—the first telegram ever sent in America.

At that time the Democratic national convention was in session in Baltimore. Morse accordingly sent a telegram to Silas Wright in Washington notifying him of his nomination for vice-president. Morse’s assistant at Washington transmitted Wright’s reply, declining the nomination. This was the first news ever sent by telegraph wire. On the same day the news of the nomination of James K. Polk to the presidency was flashed to Washington, and on the following morning it appeared in the daily papers of

that city. The people read in astonishment, almost unable to believe, but later applauded the name of Professor Morse as one of America's greatest inventors.

Like all great inventions, the electro-magnetic telegraph had cost infinite patience and unmeasured toil. Morse had begun his experiments twelve years before, and by 1834 had demonstrated to his own satisfaction that messages could be transmitted to distant points by wire, through the agency of electricity. In 1835 he submitted his invention to congress, and asked for an appropriation to construct a telegraph line between the cities of Baltimore and Washington,—a distance of forty miles,—but his request was refused. Morse then visited the countries of Europe, where he met with no better success. Returning to America, he persistently besieged congress until that body in 1843 voted an appropriation of \$30,000 to construct the line for which he had asked in 1835. In 1844 this line was completed with the startling, though successful, results here narrated.

The success of the telegraph was instantaneous. To-day it has become one of the indispensable agencies in the transmission of news and the transaction of business. In the United States alone there are nearly 200,000 miles of telegraph line, using nearly a million miles of wire. As the years have gone by, Morse's instruments have been gradually improved, and the efficiency of the telegraph service increased. The world yet awaits in eager expectation the results of inventive geniuses who are constantly at work upon the improvement of telegraphic appliances. Since the year 1900, "wireless telegraphy" has been assured. The astonishment of the world was no greater in 1844 than it was in 1902, when Marconi, through the agency of "wireless telegraphy," flashed a message from the shores of America across the Atlantic ocean.

428. The Presidential Election in 1844.—The presidential election of 1844 was held prior to the admission of Texas, which question became an issue in the campaign.

Henry Clay of Kentucky was placed in nomination by the Whigs, who now opposed the annexation of Texas, and asked that a restriction be placed on the veto power of the president. James K. Polk of Tennessee was nominated by the Democrats, who declared for the annexation of Texas and upheld the veto power.

James G. Birney of New York was again nominated by the Liberty party, which opposed slavery. This party in 1840 had received but seven thousand votes; in this election it received sixty thousand votes. It was strong in New York, Birney's own state, where it is said to have so recruited votes from the Whig party that the electoral vote of New York went to the Democrats,—to which cause more than any other, Clay's defeat was attributed.

Polk was elected with George M. Dallas of Pennsylvania as vice-president.

POLK'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1845-1849

429. James K. Polk, the eleventh president of the United States, was the son of a farmer, and a graduate of the University of North Carolina. He removed with his father to Tennessee, where he was admitted to the bar in 1820. He was elected as a congressman from Tennessee five years later, and served as chairman of the ways and means committee in the house of representatives. For five sessions, from 1835 to 1839, he was speaker of the house, which position brought him prominently before the public. In 1839 he was elected governor of Tennessee, but failed of reelection two years later. In 1844 he was nominated by the Democratic National Convention at Baltimore as a "safe" man, and because he favored the annexation of Texas.

On assuming the presidency, he surrounded himself with an especially able cabinet, among whom were James Buchanan, afterwards president of the United States, Robert J. Walker, an able financier, and George Bancroft, the historian.

It was during his administration that political parties

began to divide more and more upon the question of the extension of slavery. The very question of territorial expansion had become so identified with the slavery question as now to become a national issue of the greatest importance and to involve the permanency of the union of the states. Polk, however, reared in the political school of Andrew Jackson, apparently had no fears of disunion. Like Jackson, he at all times advocated national unity.

He declined a renomination to the presidency, and at the end of his term of office retired to private life at Nashville, Tennessee, where he died a few months later, in 1849. He was born in 1795.



430. Dispute over the Boundary of Texas.—When Texas in 1836 had declared her independence of Mexico she had claimed as her southwestern boundary the Rio Grande River,

although the land between the Nueces River and the Rio Grande had been settled early in the seventeenth century by Spaniards and had been in undisputed possession of the Spaniards and Mexicans ever since. Mexico claimed that the Nueces River was the southwestern boundary of Texas. When the news reached Mexico that Texas had been annexed, the Mexicans clamored for war and Texas sent an urgent request to President Polk to dispatch an army of United States troops to the frontier to protect the citizens of Texas against the threatened attack of Mexico. President Polk at once dispatched General Zachary Taylor with an army to the Mexican frontier to await developments.

431. Taylor's Army of Occupation.—General Taylor took a position at Corpus Christi on the west flank of the Nueces River, the actual Mexican frontier, and for several months there was nothing to indicate intended hostilities beyond the protection of Texas as one of the states of the republic. In November, 1845, President Polk sent John Slidell as envoy extraordinary to Mexico to negotiate with that government a settlement of the boundary question. Upon Mexico's refusal to recognize Slidell, Polk ordered Taylor to advance, and on the 8th of March, 1846, Taylor with a large army marched into the disputed territory. Selecting Point Isabel on the Gulf as a base of operations, he rapidly moved forward to the Rio Grande River and built Fort Brown, across from Matamoras, where a strong force of Mexicans had gathered under General Arista. On April 26, 1846, a small detachment of American dragoons under Major Seth B. Thornton was attacked by a force of Mexican lancers near Fort Brown, where the first blood of the war was shed. After a desperate fight Thornton was captured, whereupon more Mexicans soon crossed and began threatening Fort Brown. Taylor, fearing that the American army might be cut off from its base of supplies at Point Isabel, left the fort in charge of a garrison of three hundred men and immediately returned to the Point.

General Arista, believing that the American army had left for the coast in a precipitate retreat, at once moved an army of six thousand men across the river and took a strong position at Palo Alto, with the view of attacking Fort Brown. Taylor, having secured his supplies, began his return march to Fort Brown, and on the morning of the 8th of May unexpectedly came upon the Mexican troops at Palo Alto and at once gave battle. The Mexicans were driven from the field closely pursued by Taylor. On the following day he overtook them at Resaca de la Palma, where he so completely routed them that they did not cease in their headlong flight until they had placed the Rio Grande between themselves and their pursuers.

432. Declaration of War—May 11, 1846.—When news of Major Thornton's capture reached Washington, President Polk at once sent a message to congress notifying that body that "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, invaded her territory, and shed American blood upon American soil." His message recommended an immediate declaration of war since, he said, "war exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress promptly responded to the president's request, and on the 11th of May, 1846, declared war against Mexico, passed a bill making an appropriation of ten million dollars, and voted to raise an army of fifty thousand volunteers.

The war spirit ran high in the United States, particularly in the south. To the call for troops fully three hundred thousand volunteers responded, from which body of men such splendid armies were selected that the Americans did not lose a single battle during the entire period of the war.

433. Opposition to the War.—However, there were many citizens of the United States who opposed the issue of war with Mexico on high moral grounds. They urged that the republic would place herself in an unfavorable light

before the eyes of the civilized world should she wage a war against a sister republic for the purpose of despoiling her of her territorial possessions; and further, that the war was in the interest of the extension of slavery, and as such it would tend to provoke discord among the states of the American union. James Russell Lowell wrote part of the first series of the "Biglow Papers" against it, and James Fenimore Cooper, his novel entitled "Jack Tier, or, The Florida Reef."

The abolition element in the north was particularly strong in its opposition to the war. The moral sentiment of the country condemned every movement which tended to the further extension of slavery, and in other particulars condemned the war as unjustifiable. It was outspoken in opposition to a war, the disguised purpose of which was the "spoils of territory."

The war was also opposed on political grounds, by the Whig party, which placed itself in opposition to a declaration of war, when the president sent his message to congress recommending war on the ground that American blood had been shed on American soil. Abraham Lincoln, then a Whig member from Illinois, introduced a resolution in the house known as the "spot resolution." In this he asked that the president be requested to give information to congress designating geographically the particular "spot" where hostilities had begun and to prove that "the spot" was part of the territory of the United States—intimating thereby that the president had needlessly and uselessly precipitated the struggle at the suggestion of the slaveholding states, in order that an excuse might be furnished to despoil Mexico of the provinces of New Mexico and California, which they hoped later to erect into slave states. This bit of history gives us a glimpse of the humor of Abraham Lincoln, and reveals his keen insight into political methods. He divined that the war would be waged in the interest of the institution of slavery, and that therefore it would terminate in a

war of invasion and conquest. The result of the war justified Lincoln's conclusions.

Although nearly two-thirds of the citizen volunteers came from south of Mason and Dixon's line, yet even the New England states responded to the call and many came from the northwestern frontier. The Whigs had been the principal opponents of the war, yet the chief military renown of the war was won by this party—the two great commanders and leaders, Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott, being Whigs in politics.

434. The Plan of the War.—General Winfield Scott, commander-in-chief of the American forces, immediately planned the invasion and conquest of Mexico. He first directed that Commodore Robert F. Stockton be sent around Cape Horn to assume command of the American squadron on the Pacific coast, then under command of Commodore John D. Sloat. This squadron was to attack the Spanish defences on the coasts of Mexico and California and establish a blockade on the Pacific. General Scott then divided the fifty thousand troops placed at his disposal into three divisions.

(1) General Stephen W. Kearney was placed in command of the army of the west, with instructions to start from Fort Leavenworth, cross the Rocky Mountains, and conquer the Mexican provinces of New Mexico and California.

(2) General Taylor with his army of occupation was directed to cross the Rio Grande and subdue and hold the Mexican provinces in the north.

(3) General Scott himself, in command of the army of the center, was to land at some point near Vera Cruz on the Mexican coast, and with his army of invasion penetrate the heart of the enemy's country and capture the City of Mexico.

435. Taylor's Campaign South of the Rio Grande—September, 1846 to February, 1847.—General Taylor in the meantime had attacked and taken Matamoras. In September,

1846, he proceeded up the river to attack the Mexicans, at the strongly fortified city of Monterey. He found that place defended by ten thousand troops under General Pedro de Ampudia. But Taylor, always ready for battle,—so much so that among his own soldiers he was called “Old Rough and Ready,”—charged the defences with such dash and daring that the American army, though greatly inferior in numbers, carried everything before it. Within six days, after the most desperate fighting, it had penetrated the very heart of the city, forced the surrender of General Ampudia, and unfurled the stars and stripes above the Grand Plaza of Monterey, September 24, 1846.

At this juncture an armistice was declared for two months, owing to the reopening of negotiations between the Mexican government and President Polk. When the truce ended, General Taylor received the startling intelligence that an army of twenty thousand men under Santa Anna was marching northward from the City of Mexico to crush the American army of occupation. Nothing daunted, Taylor proceeded to place his troops in readiness and prepared to give battle. Marching out of Monterey he selected a field for battle at Buena Vista. The position of the Americans was indeed critical. On February 22 the whole Mexican army came pouring through the gorges and over the hills which surrounded the plateau upon which the army had intrenched itself ready for the attack. Santa Anna, confident of victory, under a flag of truce, asked for a parley and demanded the immediate surrender of General Taylor's army. “General Taylor never surrenders,” was the defiant reply, whereupon the opposing forces joined in the issue of battle. During the first day the Americans were steadily pushed back by the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. On the morning of the 23d, the Mexicans made an effort to outflank the American position, but were completely foiled, with the result that they broke and fled in the greatest disorder. During the night Santa Anna withdrew, leaving

General Taylor and his army in undisputed possession of the battlefield.

Buena Vista was the most brilliant engagement of the war. It made Taylor the popular hero and won for him the presidency.

436. Kearney's Campaign and the Conquest of New Mexico and California—June 1846 to January 1847.—In the meantime the army of the west, under General Kearney, had started from Leavenworth in June, 1846, to carry out the purpose for which it was organized. Reaching Santa Fe, Kearney raised the American flag, and the Mexicans yielded without resistance.

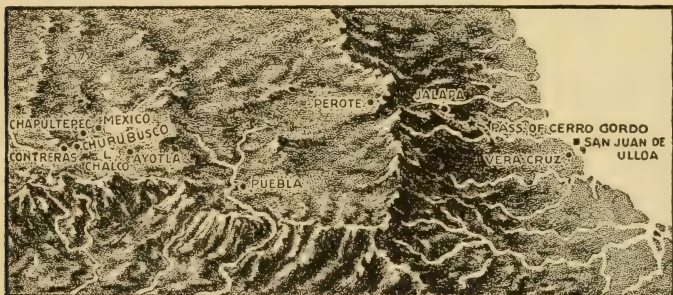
Kearney then marched across the burning sands of the desert into California, where events had been happening which anticipated the object of his coming. John C. Fremont had for several years been engaged on a government expedition of survey and exploration in the Rocky Mountains and Sierra Nevada region. Happening in California at a time when the Americans were protesting against Mexican interference, and being an American officer, he was naturally appealed to by the settlers. Considering their provocation sufficient, he championed the cause of his countrymen. A number of engagements ensued, in which the Americans were, without exception, victorious. This was all done in actual ignorance of the declaration of war.

About this time, too, the American squadron which had been ordered to patrol the California coast in anticipation of just such an event, put in an appearance. Commodore Sloat bombarded and captured Monterey, and Commodore Stockton, San Diego. On hearing of these events Fremont at once joined Sloat in a combined attack upon Los Angeles, where the American flag was raised and a military government established over the conquered territory.

In the meantime Kearney, with Kit Carson, the famous scout, as his guide, arrived on the scene, and completed the work begun by Fremont and the two officers of the navy.

A rebellion on the part of the Mexicans was suppressed by Kearney in the final battle of San Gabriel (June 8, 9, 1847), and the subjugation of California was complete.

437. General Scott's Campaign and the End of the War—March to September, 1847.—Just one month after Taylor's great victory at Buena Vista, General Scott landed an American force of twelve thousand men at Vera Cruz, and at once began an attack upon the Mexican stronghold of San Juan de Ulloa, March 29, 1847. Six days later both the city and the castle surrendered. This victory inspired the Americans with the greatest confidence, and after a week spent in



THE ADVANCE TOWARD MEXICO

preparation, the army began its triumphal march to the City of Mexico, over the same route made famous by Cortez, three hundred years before.

Santa Anna, now fully alive to the dangers that beset his country, took charge of the Mexican army in person and disputed the advance of the invading army at every strategic point. He first took position at the pass of Cerro Gordo, where he was beaten on the 18th of April. On the 13th of May the victorious army marched to the ancient and sacred city of Puebla, which offered no resistance to the American advance. On the 7th of August the American army reached the summit of the mountains which overlooked the beautiful valley of Mexico, dotted with green fields, villages,

and lakes. From those lofty heights the American soldiers beheld a populous city surrounded by snow-capped peaks and gazed in astonishment upon the same landscape which had excited the admiration of the conquering Spaniard at the very beginning of American history. A few minor engagements took place, in which the Americans were successful, and on the 20th of August the American army began a series of victories which ended in complete triumph. Contreras fell on the morning of August 20, after a sharp engagement of seventeen minutes, and during that day separate divisions of the army successfully captured the several fortresses on the heights of Churubusco and laid open the way to the very gates of the city.

The Mexicans made their final stand at the citadel of Chapultepec, which fell on the 13th of September. At sunset the American soldiers swept through the gates and pitched their tents in the suburbs of the city, and at sunrise on the 14th of September, 1847, the army entered the ancient city and took possession.

438. The Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo—February 2, 1848.—After the downfall of the City of Mexico, the American government sent peace commissioners to confer with the Mexican congress in session at Guadalupe Hidalgo. Negotiations were satisfactorily completed and the treaty signed on February 2, 1848.

By the terms of the treaty, Mexico acknowledged the Rio Grande as the southern boundary of Texas, and ceded to the United States the whole of upper California and New Mexico, thereby adding 500,000 acres of land to the public domain of the United States. For this vast expanse of territory the United States, on her part, paid Mexico \$15,000,000 in gold, and assumed all debts due from the Mexican government to American citizens to the amount of \$3,500,000.

439. The Northwestern Boundary Established—1846.—While the Texas boundary was settled by the issue of war the

Oregon boundary was settled by the peaceful method of arbitration. The dispute over the northwestern boundary had been of long standing between England and the United States. Both countries claimed the whole territory between the parallels of $54^{\circ} 40'$ and 49° .

Since the year 1818 the two countries, by mutual agreement, had jointly occupied the disputed territory. Either government wishing to terminate this agreement pledged itself to give the other twelve months' notice. The United States having served such notice on England, the question was finally disposed of in 1846 by a treaty, which arranged a fair compromise of the conflicting claims by establishing the northern boundary at its present limit of the forty-ninth parallel of north latitude.

440. The Tariff of 1846: The Walker Tariff.—In this administration the majority party in congress passed a bill known as the Walker tariff—named after Robert J. Walker, secretary of the treasury. It reduced the duties on imports so that they corresponded nearly to the schedule provided by Clay's compromise tariff of 1833. Its chief purpose was to raise a revenue, although on some articles it was slightly protective.

441. The Wilmot Proviso—1846.—During the Mexican war President Polk sent a message to congress, asking for an appropriation of money which might be offered to the Mexican government in the settlement of the dispute. A bill appropriating two million dollars for that purpose was at once introduced into the house of representatives, and then the slavery question was brought prominently before the country by David Wilmot, a Democratic congressman from Pennsylvania. Wilmot offered an amendment to the bill providing for the exclusion of slavery from any territory thus acquired. The northern Democrats and Whigs supported his amendment, which passed the house, but not the senate. The amendment provided that "neither slavery nor involuntary servitude shall ever exist in any part of such territory,

except for crime, whereof the party shall first be duly convicted."

This amendment became known as the "Wilmot Proviso" and since it involved the whole question of slavery in relation to new territory, it became a national question. As the war with Mexico progressed, this proviso was time after time pressed upon congress, by the antislavery advocates, but as often defeated. The discussions in congress and throughout the country were heated and bitter in the extreme and led to the formation of the Free-soil party, which now absorbed the Liberty party and placed itself squarely against the further extension of slavery.

442. Discovery of Gold in California: The "Forty-niners."

—In the year 1849 the world was thrown into a fever of excitement by the announcement of the discovery of gold on the Sutter settlement in California in the year 1848. The man to whom belonged the honor of this discovery was John W. Marshall, a laborer on the large estate of John A. Sutter, near the present city of Sacramento. While overseeing the digging of a mill race, Marshall was astonished to see the precious metal in the sand which was being shoveled from the ditch. An attempt was made to keep the discovery a secret, but the news rapidly spread, and swept throughout the California settlements like wildfire. Gold seekers by the hundreds came flocking to Sutter's Mill, and the whole region was soon a tented camp of fortune hunters. The news was passed on to the outside world, and in a few weeks was exciting the people in every state of the American union. It leaped the Atlantic ocean and spread throughout the countries of Europe. It seemed that the news was borne upon the wings of the wind to the very ends of the earth. By the year 1849 news of the discovery was known in every civilized country on the globe.

The greatest excitement prevailed everywhere, when the rush of the "Forty-niners" to the gold fields of California began. Ships loaded with men went flying around Cape

Horn. Other adventurers took the "short cut" by the way of the Isthmus of Panama. Ox trains by the hundreds, often with from forty to fifty "prairie schooners" in a single train, started from the states east of the Mississippi by the overland route to California. They wearily wended their way across the plains along the line of the Oregon trail, westward to Fort Hall; thence down through the Humboldt valley and across the Sierra Nevadas to Sutter's Mill; or along either the upper or lower Santa Fe trails to Santa



THE TRAILS TO CALIFORNIA

Fe, thence along Kearney's route to Monterey, or by the California "cut-off" across the Wasatch Mountains or the Great Basin, through the Humboldt valley, to their destination in California. It is said that a traveler on the Oregon trail in the valley of the Platte River counted as many as four hundred and fifty-nine of these "prairie schooners" in a distance of ten miles. These ox trains mapped out the routes along which at least two great continental railways have since been built.

People arrived in California by the thousands. In six

months the port of San Francisco had grown from a village of a few huts to a city of fifteen thousand people, and the population of California from less than ten thousand to more than one hundred thousand—two years later it had reached a quarter of a million. All articles of food were sold at fabulous prices, the sanitary condition of the mining camps was poor, and as a result the greatest suffering followed. Lawlessness and disorder prevailed everywhere. In order to assist the officers of the law the best citizens organized themselves into “vigilance committees,” which with firm, though often high-handed justice, brought order out of chaos and established the reign of law.

The discovery of gold in California led to the rapid development of that state and later of all the western states. As a factor in the western expansion of the United States, gold has performed an important part. To it is due the construction of several continental railroads, which have bound the American union all the more firmly and compactly together, to-day making San Francisco, in point of time, but five days distant from New York city.

The wealth from the mines of the west has, since the discovery of gold in 1849, mounted into the millions. The mines of California alone have added a billion dollars to the wealth of the world.

443. New States Admitted: Iowa—1846; Wisconsin—1848: Oregon Territory Organized—1848.—In this administration two states were admitted—Iowa in 1846, as the twenty-ninth state, and Wisconsin in 1848, as the thirtieth. Both adopted constitutions forbidding slavery.

In the last named year the contest over slavery in the Oregon country was fought out, terminating in the organization of Oregon territory, with a provision forever excluding slavery from within its limits.

444. The Presidential Election of 1848.—The excitement over the war had hardly subsided when the presidential campaign began. Polk having signified his intention of

retiring to private life, the Democrats nominated Lewis Cass of Michigan. The Whigs nominated the popular hero of the Mexican war, General Zachary Taylor of Louisiana. The Free-soil party nominated ex-president Martin Van Buren. This party cast a large vote but failed to secure a single vote in the electoral college.

As in the election of 1844, so in this election, New York decided the contest. The Liberty party in New York in that year defeated Clay; in a similar manner the Free-soil party in 1848 defeated Cass, the vote in the electoral college standing one hundred sixty-three for Taylor to one hundred twenty-seven for Cass. Millard Fillmore was elected vice-president.

In this election the Free-soil party declared itself squarely in opposition to all further extension of slavery, or its introduction into any of the newly acquired territory. It practically laid down the lines along which the final struggle on the sectional issue of slavery was to be fought out.

However, the contest was a personal rather than a political contest, in which the questions discussed in party platforms cut but little figure. The popularity of "Old Rough and Ready" and the motto "General Taylor never surrenders" had most to do with the result.

TAYLOR AND FILLMORE'S ADMINISTRATION

WHIG: 1849-1853

445. Zachary Taylor, the twelfth president of the United States, was a Virginian by birth, a Kentuckian by breeding; his father having removed to that frontier country shortly after the close of the Revolution. As the son of a farmer in a frontier settlement, he had few scholastic advantages, but thrift, industry, and self-reliance soon won him a place among men and gave him that training which so well fitted him for a military life.

Taylor served in the war of 1812, and took a conspicuous part in the Seminole war. His brilliant victories in the

Mexican war made him the national hero. Previous to his nomination for president he had had no political aspirations. He did not seek the nomination—it was urged upon him. The large acquisition of territory which the successful closing of the Mexican war had brought to the United States caused violent agitation on the question of slavery in the territories. Taylor, in the beginning of his administration, took his stand on the question of the organization of the new territory with a soldierly directness and definiteness of purpose which commands respect to the present day.

Sixteen months after his inauguration, President Taylor died, and for the second time in the history of the government, the vice-president succeeded to the presidency.

Taylor was born in Virginia in 1784 and died at his post of duty in Washington, D. C., July 9, 1850. On the following day Millard Fillmore took the oath of office in the presence of both houses of congress, and became the chief executive of the nation.

446. Millard Fillmore, the thirteenth president of the United States, was, like his predecessor, the son of a frontier farmer. At an early age he learned the trade of a fuller. In 1823 he was admitted to the bar. He was a member of the New York house of representatives and later a Whig member of congress from New York. While in congress, Fillmore was chairman of the ways and means committee and was the author of the tariff of 1842. He was comptroller of the state of New York at the time of his election to the vice-presidency.

On assuming the presidency, July 10, 1850, he surrounded himself with an especially able cabinet, with Daniel Webster as secretary of state.

His approval of the Omnibus Bill cost Fillmore his re-nomination to the presidency in 1852. Although the Whig members of his cabinet had advised his signing of the bill, the northern Whigs were so bitterly opposed to the Fugitive Slave

Law that in the nominating convention not twenty northern votes could be obtained for his renomination.

Four years later, while traveling on the continent of Europe, he received the news of his nomination for the presidency by the American or Know-Nothing party. In the ensuing election he received the electoral vote of one state only—Maryland.

His later life was spent in dignified retirement at his beautiful home in Buffalo, and his name was connected with much of the charitable work of the city in which he had lived for nearly half a century. He was not a genius, but a "safe and sagacious statesman." He was born in New York in 1800 and died in Buffalo, New York, in 1874.

447. The Newly Acquired Territory and President Taylor's Policy.—The advocates of slavery extension who had been counting on carving slave states out of the newly acquired territory were doomed to disappointment. Slavery had been abolished in the Mexican republic ten years before the war occurred; therefore all the territory which the United States acquired at the close of the war became a part of the public domain as free territory. Within two years after the closing of the war, California, the richest of the new possessions, applied for admission to the union, and, to the chagrin of the south, with a constitution prohibiting slavery. The southern leaders at once opposed its admission as a free state, thereby reöpening the whole slavery question.

President Taylor, a slaveholder himself, was a union man after the stamp of Andrew Jackson. He did not favor the further extension of slavery, though he believed in leaving the whole question of slavery to the choice of the inhabitants of new states themselves. Anticipating the question which would probably come before congress he had sent confidential agents to California and New Mexico suggesting to the citizens of those territories the advisability of organizing state governments so as to be ready to apply for admission as soon as congress should convene. This California had done,

and New Mexico had made some progress toward organization when congress convened in December, 1850. This policy of the president, had it been carried out by congress, would have disposed of the whole question in a simple and natural way, and was in keeping with the straightforward method of dealing with questions, so characteristic of Taylor's whole career. But to this policy the southern leaders objected, contending that the dividing line ($36^{\circ} 30'$) between slave and free territory should be extended to the Pacific coast, or that all the new territory should be open to slavery. So bitter was the discussion that followed the application of California for admission, that it threatened to disrupt the union. Should California come in as a free state, it was more than likely that slavery would be rejected in the remainder of the new territory. The south, therefore, recognized that the whole question of the balance of power between the slave and free states was involved in the struggle, since if the south lost this territory, there would be no territory left from which to erect additional slave states.

448. Clay's Plan: The Compromise of 1850.—The struggle had not progressed far, when Senator Clay placed himself in opposition to the president's policy and sought to bring the warring factions together by compromise. In January, 1850, he introduced in the senate a series of resolutions covering many and varied subjects. The resolutions were immediately referred to a committee of thirteen, of which Clay was chairman, with instructions to report a bill covering the suggestions. The committee reported a series of compromise measures, which after long discussion were passed as separate bills. These separate compromise measures, popularly known as the Omnibus Bill, provided:

- (1) That California be admitted as a free state.
- (2) That the territories of Utah (including Nevada) and New Mexico (including Arizona) be organized without mention of slavery.
- (3) That the boundary dispute between Texas and New

Mexico be settled in favor of New Mexico, and that the United States pay Texas \$10,000,000 as indemnity.

(4) That the slave trade be forever prohibited in the District of Columbia (though slavery was not to be abolished there).

(5) That a stringent fugitive slave law should be enacted.

449. The Debate in Congress over the Compromise was long and bitter. The struggle was indeed a battle of the giants, in which Clay, Webster, Calhoun, and William H. Seward participated.

Clay pleaded as he never did before for the preservation of the union and sought to restore harmony by his series of compromises. In this he was joined by Webster, who delivered on the 7th of March, 1850, a calm, though eloquent, speech which by its advocacy of compromise alienated friends and admirers in every section of the country. Webster's speech was received with astonishment in the free states. The north felt that it had lost its chiefest support, and the south that it had gained a convert in New England's favorite son. The great orator never regained the popularity which he lost on account of this "Seventh of March" speech, and two years later died a broken-hearted man.

John C. Calhoun, unyielding to the last, spurned both the policy of Clay and that of the president and declared that unless the north ceased its interference with slavery, the union must be dissolved. In such an event he pleaded for "peaceable secession."

It fell to the lot of William H. Seward, the newly elected senator from New York, to champion the policy of President Taylor. In an impassioned speech, the eloquence of which stirred the whole senate, he condemned all compromises with slavery as being in opposition to the conscience and moral sentiment of the nation. He set himself squarely against the further extension of slavery in the territories, and asserted that all territory belonging to the government was

free, and as such was devoted to liberty and justice, not only by the constitution, but by a "higher law" than the constitution—the moral law. In reply to Calhoun's plea for "peaceable secession," Webster had declared such an event impossible, and Seward expressed unquestioned confidence in "the power of the American people to maintain their national integrity under whatever menace of danger."

Before the compromise measure had passed congress, President Taylor died. It therefore fell to the lot of Millard Fillmore, his successor, to attach his signature to the measures included in the Omnibus Bill, whereupon all its provisions became law.

450. The Fugitive Slave Law provoked violent opposition in the north, where private citizens were compelled by law to assist in the arrest of fugitive slaves. In many instances, officers from the slave states would appear in a free-state community and in defiance of local authority make arrests, even going so far as to kidnap freeborn colored persons whom they unjustly reduced to slavery. The north looked upon this whole procedure as an outrage and soon sought to defeat the force of the Fugitive Slave Law by enacting Personal Liberty laws. These laws prohibited the use of state jails for the confinement of fugitives, and forbade any judge or officer to assist a slave owner in the recovery of his slave, or issue a writ looking to the arrest of a fugitive. These laws also provided that trial by jury should be granted alleged fugitives. Every free state, with the exception of New Jersey and California, opposed the returning of fugitive slaves.

451. The Underground Railroad.—In 1838, the Quakers in Pennsylvania established a series of secret stations reaching from the border state of Maryland on the south, through the states of Pennsylvania and New York to Canada on the north, to assist escaping slaves to reach Canada. As soon as a slave stepped foot upon Canadian soil he became a free man under Canadian law. Slaves would be clothed and fed

at one station, then secretly passed on to the next, until they reached their destination in Canada. These stations were located a day's journey apart, and the chain of stations became known as the Underground Railroad. After the passage of the Fugitive Slave Law, these underground railroads multiplied in number, and through their agency thousands of slaves escaped to Canada, where they became freemen. "The Abolitionists believed that they were justified in opposing and thwarting the Fugitive Slave Law for the sake of an oppressed humanity."

452. Minor Events.—In this administration Fillmore began the agitation which in later years led to cheaper postage. The department of the interior was created to look after public lands, take care of the Indians, and to have charge of the patent office. John M. Clayton, while secretary of state, negotiated the Clayton-Bulwer treaty with Sir Henry Bulwer of England. The treaty related to the establishment of a ship canal across Nicaragua, of which neither country was to have exclusive control. Louis Kossuth, the Hungarian patriot, made a tour of the United States and by his eloquence stirred the whole people, who generously responded with supplies and money to aid his countrymen in their struggle against the oppression of Austria and Russia. The government, however, in pursuance of its policy to keep free from foreign entanglements extended no aid. General Narcisso Lopez, an irresponsible adventurer, undertook a filibustering expedition against Cuba with a view to inducing the inhabitants of that island to revolt against Spain and to seek annexation to the United States. The expedition ended in disaster. The ringleader and his followers were captured by the Spaniards and taken to Havana, where Lopez and several of his men were executed. Other filibustering expeditions met a similar fate. Though President Fillmore by proclamation withdrew the protection of the United States from all citizens engaging in such expeditions, and in every way sought to

prevent them, still Europe became excited lest the United States would seek to annex Cuba. With a view to preventing such an event, Great Britain and France proposed a treaty with the United States, in which each nation was to declare its intention never to possess Cuba. The proposal was declined by Edward Everett, secretary of state, in an able state paper, in which he called the attention of the European powers to the fact that America proposed to stand by the policy outlined in the Monroe Doctrine.

453. Death of Webster, Clay, and Calhoun.—Amidst the stirring political excitements of this administration three American statesmen, John C. Calhoun, Henry Clay, and Daniel Webster, had passed from the scene of political action in which they had been the central figures for a period of nearly forty years. Calhoun died in the city of Washington, March 31, 1850, before the compromise measures had passed congress. Clay and Webster lived two years longer and each pronounced eulogies upon the departed southerner.

Calhoun, though professing to stand for the constitution and the maintenance of the union, still, in 1832, preached the doctrine of "nullification," and from that time until the day of his death sowed the seeds of secession and disunion. When he died, it is said that he requested that his only epitaph be the one word "nullification."

Clay was a southerner by birth, and, like Calhoun, a slaveholder. And yet he would have been glad to see the emancipation of slavery accomplished. He regretted its further extension, and believed that it should be confined to the states where it already existed. He at all times ardently supported the union, and whenever he felt that the ship of state was in peril, came forth with a compromise measure to calm the storm. Clay died at his post of duty in the nation's capital, June 29, 1852.

Webster, like Clay, pleaded for national unity, and begged that there might be emblazoned on the national ensign, the "sentiment, dear to every American heart—Liberty and

Union, now and forever, one and inseparable!" as stated so eloquently in his reply to Robert Y. Hayne in 1830. Webster died at Marshfield, Massachusetts, October 24, 1852. Both Clay and Webster were ambitious for advancement—both had been candidates for the presidency and were bitterly disappointed when they failed to reach the goal.

No greater oratory has ever been heard in the halls of congress than that which fell from the lips of these three men. So inseparably were their names linked together from about the period of 1812 until the compromise of 1850, that they have been referred to in history as the American triumvirate. Calhoun was unyielding and uncompromising in his defence of the doctrine of "nullification," and in his support of slavery. Clay and Webster, more conciliatory, often yielded to compromise, almost to the point of sacrificing the very principles for which they most contended, as is evidenced in Clay's advocacy of a fugitive slave law in which he did not believe, and in Webster's Seventh of March oration. Calhoun excelled in logic, Clay in flowery eloquence, while Webster was the greatest orator.

When they died, a new generation of men was already occupying the stage of action. William H. Seward of New York had sounded the keynote of the future contest in his "higher law" doctrine. Stephen A. Douglas and Abraham Lincoln had impressed themselves upon the great west. Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were prominent in the south, while Charles Sumner and Edward Everett were recognized as New England's favorite sons.

454. The Seventh Census—1850.—The seventh census showed a population of 23,191,876, a gain of thirty-six per cent over the census of 1840. Of this population 3,204,313 were slaves, of which two hundred thirty-six were in the state of New Jersey, twenty-six in the territory of Utah, and the remainder south of Mason and Dixon's line. It will thus be seen that the decade from 1840 to 1850 was one of great growth in population. During this period one and

three-quarter millions of people came to the shores of America from foreign countries. Fully a million of these were from the British Isles, mostly from Ireland—driven thence on account of the famine. The remainder represented every country of Europe.

455. The Presidential Election of 1852.—As the time for the presidential election arrived, the excitement over the compromise of 1850 and the enforcement of the Fugitive Slave Law had somewhat abated. Both the Whigs and the Democrats, true to the congressional compromise, endorsed the Omnibus Bill. The Democratic party declared against further agitation of the slavery question; and the Whigs, for national unity and obedience to the constitution. The Free-soil party declared that, "Slavery is a sin against God, and a crime against man, which no human enactment nor usage can make right. Slavery is sectional and freedom is national." It further declared the Fugitive Slave Law to be repugnant to the constitution, denied that it was binding upon the American people, and demanded its "immediate and total repeal."

The Whigs nominated General Winfield Scott of New Jersey; the Democrats, Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire; and the Free-soil party, John P. Hale, from the same state. Pierce was elected with William R. King of Alabama, receiving two hundred fifty-four of the electoral votes to forty-two cast for Scott, and none for Hale. In the defeat of Scott the Whig party received its death blow.

PIERCE'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1853-1857

456. Franklin Pierce, the fourteenth president of the United States, was the son of a New Hampshire farmer who had distinguished himself as an officer of the Revolution. He graduated from Bowdoin College at Brunswick, Maine, where he had as collegemates the poet Longfellow and the novelist Hawthorne. He was soon thereafter admitted to

the bar and later served in the legislature of his native state. In 1833 he was elected to represent New Hampshire in the national congress, in which body he continued to serve until 1842—during the last three years as United States senator. He enlisted as a volunteer in the Mexican war, and was soon advanced to a brigadier-generalship. When nominated to the presidency he was looked upon as an obscure man, though devoted to the principles of his party.

His administration was disturbed throughout its entire term by the renewal of the slavery struggle. Though a northern man, he joined with the southern leaders in carrying out their wishes on the slavery question. He lost favor at the north, and was discarded by his own party in its national convention of 1856, lest he might lead it to defeat.

On his retirement from office in 1857 he spent several years abroad, and on his return erected the Pierce Mansion in Concord, New Hampshire, where he continued to reside until the day of his death. Pierce opposed the issue of civil war in 1860, but when the die was once cast he sided with the union. He was born at Hillsborough, New Hampshire, in 1804, and died at Concord, that state, in 1869.

457. The Gadsden Purchase—1853.—Owing to the imperfect maps used at the time of the making of the treaty at the close of the Mexican War, a second boundary dispute had arisen between the United States and Mexico, which President Pierce was called upon to settle early in his administration. Both countries claimed the Mesilla valley, which includes that portion of the present territory of Arizona lying south of the Gila River, and a section of New Mexico. This valley was reported to be very rich, and the United States desired it as affording the most available route for a railroad to the Pacific, which was proposed at that time. Captain James Gadsden, the minister to Mexico, after whom the purchase was named, negotiated the treaty, by which the United States paid Mexico \$10,000,000 for her claim to the valley. The United States also secured the free navigation

of the Gulf of California and the Colorado River. The territory acquired by this purchase contained 45,000 square miles—an area about equal to the state of New York.

458. The Martin Koszta Affair—1854.—In this administration the United States won a signal triumph in the field of diplomacy. Martin Koszta had been a prominent leader, along with Louis Kossuth, in the Hungarian rebellion. When the rebellion failed, he came to the United States, and immediately took out naturalization papers, thereby taking the first steps toward becoming a citizen of the United States, and therefore entitled to its protection in any country of the world. In the year 1854 he went to Turkey and was given permission by the Turkish authorities to go ashore at Smyrna, under the passport of an American citizen. While ashore, at the instigation of the Austrian consul at Smyrna, he was seized by bandits, thrown into the bay, picked up by an Austrian boat in waiting for the purpose, and taken on board an Austrian man-of-war. The American consul at once demanded his release. This being refused, the American sloop-of-war, *St. Louis*, then in the bay of Smyrna, loaded her guns, ran up her flag, prepared for action, and demanded Koszta's surrender at the cannon's mouth. Hereupon the Austrian authorities agreed to turn Koszta over to the French government for safe-keeping, and to refer the final question of his release to arbitration between the two governments. This proposal was at once agreed to by the American consul. In the controversy which ensued between the government at Washington and Austria, the United States was completely triumphant, and Koszta was released. This diplomatic victory greatly strengthened national pride. It was now felt that "to be an American citizen was a greater honor than to be a king."

459. Commodore Perry's Expedition to Japan—1852-1854.—In the year 1852, in Fillmore's administration, Commodore Matthew C. Perry, a brother of Oliver H. Perry of Lake Erie fame, organized a government expedition to Japan.

His mission was to make a treaty of friendship between the two powers, and to open the ports of Japan to the commerce of the United States. When Perry sailed unannounced into the harbor of Yedo in 1853, he threw the populace of that port into a panic, from fear of a foreign invasion. He was immediately warned to leave Japanese waters, but this he refused to do until he could deliver the letter of President Fillmore to the Japanese governor. Permission was finally granted him, and Perry and his suite were received on shore with great pomp. The letter delivered, Perry set sail for China, stating that he would return to Yedo for an answer in the following spring. Accordingly, in the spring of 1854, he returned and was so cordially received that he at once negotiated a favorable treaty, which opened, almost for the first time in history, the ports of Japan to the commerce of any nation. In 1854 Perry returned to the United States, where he was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm by President Pierce and the entire country. A brisk commerce between California and Japan was at once begun which has continued without interruption to the present day. Monuments have been erected to the memory of Commodore Perry in both America and Japan.

460. The Ostend Manifesto—1854.—In 1854 the country was still involved in trouble over Cuba—due to the determination on the part of the “filibusters” to annex that island to the United States. The political leaders in the south were especially anxious to annex Cuba in order that it might be divided into states which, when admitted to the union, would preserve the balance of power between the free and the slave states. Hence it was that filibustering schemes and expeditions were secretly encouraged in the south. Cuba’s annexation, even in Polk’s administration, had been attempted—Polk having made an offer to Spain of \$100,000,000 for the “gem of the Antilles.” During Taylor and Fillmore’s administrations all filibustering movements had been promptly condemned. Pierce, knowing that the Span-

ish government was in need of funds, thought the time now favorable to revive Polk's plan, and accordingly instructed the American minister at the court of Madrid, Pierre Soulé, to open negotiations for the purchase of Cuba. Soulé was soon joined by James Buchanan, minister to the court of London, and John Y. Mason, minister to the court of Paris. These three ministers at Pierce's suggestion met in conference at Ostend, Belgium, where they prepared a dispatch to the government at Washington, in which they declared that the sale of Cuba would be of advantage to both Cuba and the United States, and recommended, if Spain refused to sell Cuba, that the United States "wrest it from her," rather than see it become an African republic like San Domingo. This dispatch is known as the "Ostend Manifesto." It created great astonishment among European powers, which at once entered such vigorous protests against it that negotiations for the purchase of Cuba were cut short. Pierce, though urged to do so, refused to take steps looking toward the conquest of Cuba by force of arms.

461. Other Filibustering Schemes: The Walker Expeditions—1853-54.—Pierce's administration was also disturbed by filibustering schemes against Mexico and the Central American countries. The most noted of these was the expedition led by the bold and unscrupulous adventurer, General William Walker, in the years 1853-54. Walker eluded the government's officers at San Francisco and made an invasion of Lower California and the Mexican province of Sonora, where he was defeated and made a prisoner. He was turned over by the Mexican government to the authorities at San Francisco, where he was tried and acquitted. He at once organized a second expedition and set out for Central America. He landed in Nicaragua, where the natives rallied to his standard, thereby enabling him to win several important battles, which so added to his renown that he was elected president of the Nicaraguan republic, and was immediately recognized as such by President Pierce.

However, in 1857, the Central American countries combined against Walker, overthrew his authority, and made him a prisoner, though he soon regained his liberty. This bold spirit was no sooner released than he repaired to New Orleans, organized a third expedition, and, returning to Central America, made a descent upon the republic of Honduras. Through the prompt action of the president of Honduras, Walker was foiled, and by the aid of a British man-of-war, overpowered and taken prisoner for a third time. This time he was court-martialed and shot September 12, 1860. Walker's expeditions created much excitement at the time. It was generally believed in the north that the leaders of the slaveholding sections were secretly aiding him. No proof, however, was ever produced to sustain this charge.

462. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill: "Squatter Sovereignty"—1854.—The sober second thought of the country had acquiesced in the Compromise of 1850, and a general feeling had obtained, that the interests of both the north and the south demanded that the discussion of the slavery question be dropped by congress. Therefore, great was the astonishment of the whole country when Stephen A. Douglas, senator from Illinois, introduced a resolution in the senate providing for the organization of the territories of Kansas and Nebraska—the bill expressly stating that the question of slavery should be left entirely to the settlers themselves, without any interference whatsoever on the part of congress. The method of thus disposing of the slavery question became known as "squatter sovereignty." This unannounced step on the part of Douglas came upon the people like a clap of thunder from a clear sky; and produced the greatest excitement. The whole slavery question was at once reopened, not to be closed again until the Wilmot Proviso was written into the constitution of the United States.

The antislavery advocates claimed that this was a repeal of the Missouri Compromise, which had expressly stated that both these territories should be forever free. Douglas

claimed that the Missouri Compromise was already repealed in the Compromise of 1850, and that therefore this bill was necessary in order to settle the status of these territories before they should apply for admission as states. After the most violent debates in both houses of congress, which at times threatened bloodshed, the bill was passed May 22, 1854.

Congress had surrendered to "squatters" and frontier settlers its constitutional authority over the public domain, and in its reference of the whole question of slavery to these settlers, had invited the issue of civil war in the prairie states of the west. The debate in the senate, which preceded the adoption of the bill, while not so able as that which preceded the passage of the Compromise of 1850, was far more bitter and produced animosities between the north and the south which it was impossible to overcome in later years. The bill was looked upon in the north as an outrage committed in the name of the constitution. Charles Sumner, Webster's successor in congress, referred to it as the "crime against Kansas." All classes of people arrayed themselves against it and bitterly opposed it. The clergy in nearly every free state spoke against it from the pulpit. Congress was flooded by petitions protesting against it. One petition alone from New England, was signed by more than three thousand clergymen from that section—including every clergyman in New England.

463. The Struggle for Kansas.—The Kansas-Nebraska bill had no sooner passed congress than the struggle for Kansas began. The south, on its part, was determined that Kansas should come into the union as a slave state. The north was equally determined that Kansas should be free. At the time of the passage of the bill, Kansas was an Indian country, and had but a few hundred white inhabitants within its borders. Lying to its east was the slave state of Missouri. The south accordingly looked to Missouri to people the prairies of Kansas and capture the state government in the interests of slavery. In this she had the antislavery

element of all the northern states to contend against. An emigrant aid society was organized in New England, and an expedition of free-state men started on the road to Kansas. Similar companies set out from every free state east of the Mississippi River, and even Iowa contributed her quota of free-state men. Massachusetts sent Charles Robinson; Indiana, General James H. Lane; and New York, John Brown.

Leavenworth, Atchison, Lecompton, and Topeka were soon founded. President Pierce appointed Andrew H.



Reeder of Pennsylvania as first territorial governor. An election was held, and a proslavery delegate declared elected to congress. Reeder called an election in the spring of 1855 for the purpose of electing members to a territorial legislature. At this election, 5,427 proslavery votes were cast, and 791 free-state votes. The census of the territory taken but a few weeks before the election showed but 2,905 voters. The Missourians had invaded the territory and stolen

the election. When the legislature convened at Pawnee a few months later, it adopted the state laws of Missouri and passed laws denying free speech and the liberty of the press on all questions referring to slavery. This bogus legislature with its bogus laws outraged not only the free-state settlers in Kansas but also the sense of justice in the whole north. The whole affair ended in a clash between the free-state men and the invaders from Missouri. Murders, mobs, lynchings, and destruction of property followed—even the life of Governor Reeder was threatened, and he left the state in disguise, to be succeeded by Governor Wilson Shannon. Meanwhile the Free-soilers called a constitutional convention to meet at Topeka in October, 1855, by which a constitution was adopted, slavery prohibited in the territory, and an attempt made to set up a state government. Under this constitution a state election was held and the governorship fell to the lot of Charles Robinson.

At this juncture, President Pierce showed his hand. In a message to congress he denounced the Topeka constitution, and through his approval the United States troops were called in to disperse the state legislature in session at Topeka. Strictly speaking, Pierce was within his powers, since no territory could become a state without the consent of congress. This consent the Free-soilers had not obtained. In the meantime a congressional election had been held throughout the states, and the old congress which had passed the Kansas-Nebraska bill had been repudiated in the north. A new house of representatives appeared in Washington, though the old senate remained. When the Topeka constitution was submitted to congress, the house approved it; the senate, still under the leadership of Douglas, rejected it. This rejection but prolonged the struggle. The free-state north now renewed her efforts to save Kansas. It being unsafe to attempt to reach Kansas through the state of Missouri, a route was now established through Iowa and Nebraska, over which immigrants poured into the territory

by the thousands, piloted by Lane and John Brown. To offset this movement, Georgia, Alabama, and South Carolina sent whole companies west to join Missouri in her invasion of Kansas. This precipitated a border warfare, which was marked by all the horrors incident to frontier life. Congress and the whole country stood aghast. The iniquity of the Kansas-Nebraska bill was now fully realized. But the die was cast—"squatter sovereignty" had invited the issue, and neither side shrank from the contest. Sharpe's rifles were sent from the north to arm the free-state settlers against the invaders. President Pierce came to the rescue of the proslavery party by encouraging the arrest and imprisonment of free-state men for treason. Governor Robinson was imprisoned without a trial, and was refused bail for four months. President Pierce declared Kansas to be in a state of insurrection. The Missourians sacked Lawrence and burned part of the town. The Georgians, aided by other proslavery men, burned Osawatimie. The free-state men, under such leaders as John Brown and James Montgomery, retaliated. Finally a new governor, John W. Geary, arrived on the scene, and order was restored for a time. But a presidential contest had placed a new man at the helm in Washington, and Geary, out of favor with the incoming administration, resigned. Pierce soon retired from office, leaving the Kansas troubles to be settled by his successor.

464. The Assault upon Sumner by Brooks.—When President Pierce sent his message to congress condemning the Topeka constitution, it drew from Charles Sumner, on the 20th of May, 1856, his celebrated speech, "The Crime against Kansas." Sumner was a scholar of distinguished ability, an eloquent orator, and a master of invective. When he pointed his shaft of scorn, it went straight to the mark and stung his victim. During the course of his speech he took occasion to comment severely upon the conduct of Senator Andrew P. Butler of South Carolina, who, at the time, happened to be absent from the senate chamber. Two days

later the senate had adjourned earlier than usual, and Sumner remained writing at his desk, when Representative Preston Brooks, a relative of Butler's, entered the rear of the senate chamber, accompanied by Representative Lawrence M. Keitt,—each armed with a cane. "You have libelled the state of South Carolina and my aged relative," shouted Brooks, as he rushed upon Sumner, violently striking him over the head with his cane. He struck blow after blow with his gutta percha weapon, while Keitt stood by to see that no one interfered. Sumner, although a powerful man, was so stunned by the first blow that he was unable to rise and turn upon his assailant. He soon fell bleeding and unconscious to the floor, and was carried from the chamber by friends who hastened to his assistance. His injuries were so serious that he was unable to resume his seat for three years, but during all that time the state of Massachusetts kept his seat vacant, as a silent protest against this cowardly attack upon the freedom of debate.

The house of representatives made an attempt to expel Brooks, but failing in this, strong resolutions were passed condemning him for his cowardly assault, and a vote of censure was passed upon Keitt and Brooks. Whereupon they both resigned, and returned to South Carolina, where they received an enthusiastic welcome and were at once re-elected to the positions which they had just made vacant—such was the false idea of chivalry held in those days. This personal assault upon Sumner aroused both houses of congress, and created a wild storm of excitement throughout the country.

465. New Political Parties: Republican and Know-Nothing.—In this administration two new political parties appeared for the first time,—one, the Republican party, destined in a short time to gain and hold control of the government through one of the most dangerous and trying periods in the history of the republic; the other, the Know-

Nothing party, to live but a single campaign, and then to disappear from the stage of action.

The Whig party went to pieces upon the rock of the Compromise of 1850, and particularly the Fugitive Slave Law. The Kansas-Nebraska bill called into existence its successor, the Republican party. This party had its rise in the states of the northwest. Its principles were first given definite form at a convention held in Pittsburg in February, 1854. The party was composed of Free-soilers, antislavery Whigs, some Democrats, and eventually the Abolitionists and a majority of the Know-Nothing party. On account of its opposition to the Kansas-Nebraska bill, the party was first called the Anti-Nebraska party. The name "Republican" was suggested in a set of resolutions passed by the Michigan legislature in 1854 protesting against the passage of Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska act, and Republican was soon thereafter substituted for Anti-Nebraska. The Pittsburg convention declared for free Kansas and free territory, and denounced the Kansas-Nebraska act as an outrage upon a free people and a crime committed in the name of the constitution. When it adjourned, it was resolved to place a candidate in nomination for the presidency when Pierce's term of office should expire. In the congressional elections of 1854, it won a majority of the members in the lower house of congress, and elected Nathaniel P. Banks of Massachusetts as speaker of the house after one of the most exciting speakership contests in the history of the country. It was this Republican majority that approved the Topeka constitution in 1855.

The Know-Nothing party was first organized as a secret political party, and advocated the control of the government by native citizens only. During the period from 1846 to 1856, thousands of foreigners had emigrated to America, and these the Know-Nothing party declared were a menace to the government. Owing to the fact that the members in the lower degrees of the society "knew nothing" of the

plans and purposes of the leaders in the upper degrees, the party became known by the nickname "Know-Nothing" instead of the name under which it wished to appear—"American." In 1855 it discarded its secret machinery, and made its fight under the motto, "America for Americans."

466. The Presidential Election of 1856.—In the presidential election of 1856, the free-state Democrats in the north united with the Republicans, while the proslavery Whigs in the south united with the Democrats. This made the contest a sectional issue on the question of slavery. The Republicans nominated John C. Fremont of California, demanded the admission of Kansas with its Topeka constitution, opposed any further extension of slavery into new territory, and declared themselves content to leave the institution of slavery unmolested in the states where it already existed. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, favored the principle of "squatter sovereignty," and asserted that the policy pursued by slavery agitators in the north would, if persisted in, "lead to civil war and disunion." The Know-Nothing party nominated ex-President Fillmore of New York, declared for a strong federal union, passed a lukewarm resolution referring to Kansas, and adhered to its principle of "America for Americans."

In the ensuing election the Democrats won, Buchanan receiving one hundred seventy-four of the electoral votes, Fremont one hundred fourteen, and Fillmore eight. John C. Breckinridge was elected vice-president.

BUCHANAN'S ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1857-1861

467. James Buchanan, the fifteenth president of the United States, was the son of a Pennsylvania farmer. At the age of nineteen, he graduated from Dickinson College in his native state, and three years later entered the profession of law. He served in the legislature of his native state,

and was elected to the lower house of congress in 1820. He retired from congress in 1831, to accept the post of minister to Russia. On his return in 1834, he entered the United States senate, where he continued as an active member until 1845, when he resigned to become Polk's secretary of state. He retired to private life in 1849, but four years later was appointed minister to England, which position he held until 1856. He was still in London when he received the news of his nomination to the presidency by the Democratic party. As a successful diplomat, Buchanan ranks high, as is shown in his splendid record while secretary of state and while minister to England, as well as in his foreign policy while president. In home affairs, however, his administration fell upon troublous times. All the misfortunes of Pierce's administration were visited upon Buchanan. The slavery question would not down; the Kansas struggle still kept up; the north and the south were drifting farther and farther apart. The ship of state had come upon tempestuous seas, and Buchanan, with all his years of experience, was not the helmsman to guide her safely through the storm. He was handicapped by a disposition which lacked the essential element of vigor. He owed his election to the solid south. His associates were largely from that section, and he found it difficult to break the political ties which had bound him for more than a third of a century. It was charged that he was vacillating and weak, and such blame and censure has been heaped upon him as to obscure almost completely his achievements in the field of diplomacy. No president ever more willingly laid down the burden of official position than did Buchanan in 1861. He was not a candidate for renomination, nor did he wish to be. He retired to private life March 4, 1861, on his estate of Wheatland, near Lancaster, Pennsylvania, where he died in 1868. He was born near Mercersburg, Pennsylvania, in 1791.

468. The Dred Scott Decision and the Repeal of the Mis-

Missouri Compromise.—On March 6, 1857, two days after Buchanan's inauguration, the supreme court of the United States handed down its celebrated Dred Scott decision. Dred Scott had been a slave in the slave state of Missouri, but in 1834 he had been carried by his master to the free state of Illinois, and two years later to the free territory of Minnesota, where, by the provisions of the Missouri Compromise, slavery had been forever prohibited. While in the territory of Minnesota, Scott was married, with his master's consent, but, on being brought back to Missouri, he and his wife and two children were sold to another master. Scott at once sued for his freedom, and won his suit in the local court at St. Louis, on the grounds that his removal to Minnesota made him a free man by the provisions of the Missouri Compromise. The case was appealed to the supreme court of Missouri, which reversed the decision. While the case was still before the Missouri courts, Scott brought a second suit for his freedom on the grounds that he was a citizen of the United States, and was therefore a citizen of Missouri, and as such entitled to his freedom. This suit was brought before the United States circuit court at St. Louis. This court granted his contention as to citizenship, but referred the question of his freedom to a jury, which decided that he was still a slave. The case was then appealed to the supreme court of the United States. A majority of this court held (1) that colored persons, whether freed or slave, were not citizens of the United States; (2) that the act of temporary removal of a master from a slave to a free state did not entitle his slaves to freedom; (3) that the removal of a master into any of the territory made free by the Missouri Compromise did not entitle his slaves to freedom, because the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional and void. This decision emphatically said that there were no free territories within the meaning of the constitution, and implied that a slaveholder could carry his slaves into any state of the union without surrendering his

right to hold them as slaves. Of all the points in the decision, this last one produced the greatest alarm in the north, where it was now felt that the boast of a prominent southern slaveholder, that he would some day be able to call the roll of his slaves at the base of the Bunker Hill monument could soon be fulfilled.

No decision from the supreme court of the United States has ever created such a storm. In the south it was applauded to the echo, while in the north it was condemned as an outrage against human freedom and opposed to the advancing civilization of the day. Many northern states resented the decision by passing more stringent personal liberty laws. Taney's unfortunate historic reference, "The negro had no rights which the white man was bound to respect," was seized upon in the north as expressing the true meaning not only of the court but of the entire south as well. Two justices, John McLean and Benjamin R. Curtis, dissented from the majority opinion of the court. Justice Curtis set forth his objections in an able opinion, which became the generally accepted view in the north. His opinion was printed and circulated by the Republican party as campaign literature in 1860. Within a week after the decision had been rendered, Taney's desire of thus putting to sleep the slavery question was recognized as hopeless, even by the chief justice himself. The whole north was aroused as never before, and looked upon Taney's judicial opinion as a political decision meant to bolster up the tottering institution of slavery. It was even charged openly that the decision had been made on the demand of the leaders of the slaveholding section.

469. The Kansas Struggle Ends in Victory for Freedom.—Notwithstanding the annulling of the Missouri Compromise by this decision of the supreme court, the struggle for Kansas continued unabated. President Buchanan appointed Robert J. Walker governor of the territory. The old pro-slavery legislature still held the reins of government under the

fostering care of the administration at Washington. This legislature met at Lecompton and called a convention to frame a new state constitution. Governor Geary, before leaving the territory, had vetoed this call, but after his retirement the convention had met and proceeded to adopt the Lecompton constitution, which permitted slavery. The whole contest was transferred to the halls of congress, when Kansas asked for admission to the union under this fraudulently adopted constitution. In congress the struggle was long and stubborn, but a bill was finally passed, known as the "English Bill," which submitted the constitution, for the third time, to the people of the territory for their approval or rejection. In the vote which followed in September, 1857, the Lecompton constitution was repudiated at the polls by a decided majority. During this controversy, Governor Walker was removed from his position, because he declared for a free count. He was charged by the south as being a "turn coat." The action of the Lecompton convention in attempting to force this constitution upon the territory was so high-handed that even Stephen A. Douglas, champion of "squatter sovereignty" as he was, condemned it in the most scathing language.

In the meantime, a new election in the territory had resulted in the choice of a free-state legislature, which in December, 1857, met at Leavenworth and adopted the Leavenworth constitution, which declared that all men were equal before the law. The attorney-general of the United States, however, having declared that the bill calling this constitutional convention was illegal, this third attempt to adopt a state constitution fell by the wayside. While the Lecompton constitution was before congress for its consideration, both the free-state and proslavery men were comparatively quiet in the territory, awaiting the issue. But in 1858 the border warfare broke out again, and the old acts of plunder, pillage, massacre, murder, assassination, and

destruction of property were repeated. The whole matter was finally disposed of in the year 1859, when a constitutional convention met at Wyandotte and adopted what is known as the Wyandotte constitution. On the 16th of October, 1859, this constitution was ratified by the people of the territory, and under it Kansas two years later became a free state. "Squatter sovereignty" in Kansas had been a costly experiment. Two million dollars' worth of property had been destroyed, many human lives had been lost, and the bitterest animosities engendered. For five years the Kansas struggle had been a national issue, which stirred the nation to its very depths. No doubt much wrong had been committed by irresponsible parties on both sides in the frontier struggle; but it all ended in the interest of human liberty; freedom had been victorious, the moral sentiment of the north had prevailed.

470. The Lincoln-Douglas Debates.—The year 1858 was made memorable by a contest in Illinois between Abraham Lincoln and Stephen A. Douglas for the United States senatorship from that state. Lincoln had become prominent in the west because of his opposition to Douglas's Kansas-Nebraska act. On account of his leadership of the Republican party in Illinois, he became the logical candidate of that party against Douglas, the Democratic nominee. Douglas was a man of national reputation, and for years had been the recognized leader of his party in the senate. He was a magnetic speaker, and was recognized as a debater of unusual ability. Lincoln, though he had served one term in congress as a Whig member, was not prominent in national politics; indeed, his reputation may be said to date from the year of this senatorial contest. During the progress of the contest a series of seven joint debates was arranged between Lincoln and Douglas, which took place at various places throughout the state. In these debates the political questions which were then agitating the country were argued by both debaters with such skill and eloquence as to attract at once the attention

of the entire country and bring the name of Lincoln into such national prominence as to signal him out as one of the ablest leaders of the new Republican party. In this campaign Lincoln lost, but with a political foresight which has seldom been surpassed, he so embarrassed Douglas by the questions which he forced him to answer that he made it impossible for the Democratic party of the south to consider his name in connection with the coming presidential contest.

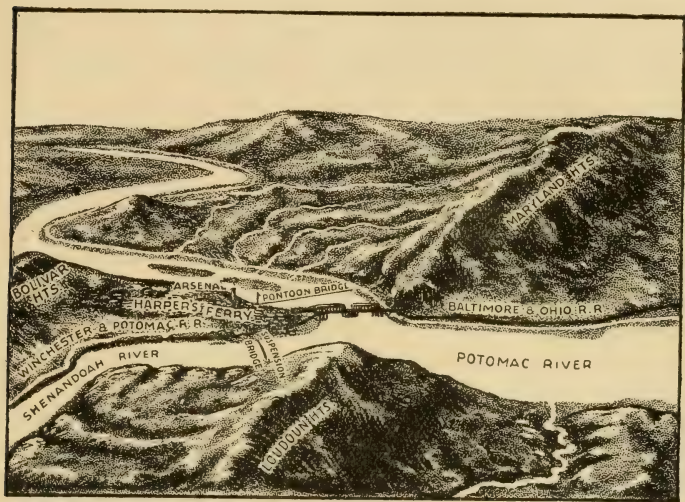
In accepting the nomination for the senatorship, at the hands of the state Republican convention at Springfield, Illinois, Lincoln responded in his now famous speech opening with these words:

“ ‘A house divided against itself can not stand.’ I believe that this government can not endure permanently half slave and half free; I do not expect the *union* to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other. Either the opponents of slavery will arrest the further spread of it, and place it where the public mind shall rest in the belief that it is in the course of ultimate extinction, or its advocates will push it forward till it shall become alike lawful in all the states, old as well as new, north as well as south.”

Many of his friends urged him to omit these words from his speech, insisting that he would lose the election if he did not, whereupon his law partner, William H. Herndon, exclaimed: “Lincoln, deliver that speech as written, and it will make you president!”

471. John Brown's Raid at Harper's Ferry—1859.—On the morning of October 17, 1859, the whole country was startled by the intelligence that a band of insurgents had seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, captured the town, and taken a number of prominent citizens prisoners. It soon became known that the leader of the band was Captain John Brown, who had become known throughout the country in connection with the free-state struggle in

Kansas. Virginia sent state troops flying to Harper's Ferry, but their ill-planned and feeble efforts could not dislodge the insurgents. On the evening of the day of the alarm a company of United States marines, under command of Colonel Robert E. Lee, arrived upon the scene and immediately



HARPER'S FERRY AND VICINITY

relieved the excited militia. The marines, with sledge hammers and battering ram, soon forced an entrance into the arsenal, where they found Brown on his knees, dazed and bleeding, with two of his sons dead by his side. Of the nineteen raiders, two had escaped, seven were taken prisoners, and ten were found dead within the fort. Brown and his fellow prisoners were placed in chains and taken to Charleston, Virginia, where they were tried for treason and for inciting insurrection. Brown's trial was a notable one, and excited the greatest interest throughout the country. He candidly and boldly declared to the court that he had planned to march into the slave districts, set up an anti-slavery government, and spread such terror among the slave-

holders of the south, that they would either emancipate their slaves or surrender them for a money consideration. In this way he had hoped to bring about a revolution which would ultimately lead to the abolition of slavery.

Although Brown was found guilty and executed on the gallows, still there were thousands in the north who excused his raid as the logical outcome of the squatter sovereignty war and the Dred Scott decision. But the event threw the south into a frenzy of excitement. The cry went up that the insurrection had been planned at the instigation of the antislavery leaders in the north, and the breach between the opposing sections was widened.

472. Mrs. Stowe's "Uncle Tom's Cabin," and Helper's "Impending Crisis."—In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe, sister to the great Brooklyn preacher, Henry Ward Beecher, published a novel entitled "Uncle Tom's Cabin, or, Life among the Lowly." It was called forth as a protest against the Fugitive Slave Law, and was full of burning indignation against the wrongs of the slaves in the south. Its sales soon ran into the thousands. By the second year of Buchanan's administration 500,000 copies had been scattered throughout the free states. The sale of the book was prohibited in many localities in the south, where it was claimed that the novel was overdrawn, imaginative, and misleading, and that the condition of the slave was much better than Mrs. Stowe's portrayal indicated. The circulation of the book was encouraged by the abolition and antislavery societies of the north, where it stirred the minds of the people to the profoundest depths, and aroused a stronger opposition than ever before—not only against the further extension of slavery, but also against its continued existence in the United States.

In 1857 a second book appeared, which, if anything, produced more indignation in the south than "Uncle Tom's Cabin." This book was Hinton R. Helper's "Impending Crisis in the South: How to Meet It." Helper was a representative of the nonslaveholding element in the south,—

an element which at that time represented about seven-tenths of the white population of that section. The "poor whites" in the south had never been able to make much progress owing to the fact that their farms were small and that they were forced at all times to put their free labor against slave labor. Their communities were poorly provided with schools, and in every way their growth and prospects had been retarded on account of slavery. The "poor white" usually had no love for the African,—if anything, his feeling against him was far more bitter than that of the slaveholder. He felt that he was unjustly thrown into competition with the slave, and therefore deprived of his just rights as a free laborer. Helper in his book pleaded strongly for the nonslaveholding whites in the south, who, he declared, longed to see the day arrive when all slaves should be removed from the United States and their places filled by white men. His method of thus settling the slavery question by deportation, and his sound argument in defence of free labor in the south, were endorsed by many of the ablest men of the day. The indignation of the southerners, however, found some justification in the violence of Helper's language and the undisguised threat of using force to put down the slaveholders. The book had an immense sale. Whole sections of it were printed and circulated free by the New England Abolition Society, and the Republican party used it as a campaign document in 1860.

473. The Presidential Election of 1860.—The Democratic convention met at Charleston, South Carolina, on the 23d of April, 1860, where it proceeded to the adoption of a platform before placing in nomination its candidate for the presidency. After a week's struggle over the question of slavery, in which the delegates from the northern states refused to endorse the extreme views advocated by the southern leaders, the convention was rent in twain. A number of the southern states dramatically withdrew their entire delegations from the convention. The remaining delegates, unable to agree upon a

candidate, adjourned to the city of Baltimore, where, on the 18th day of June, they selected Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois as their standard-bearer. The southern wing of the Democracy met in the same city a few days later and nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky. The Know-Nothing party having dissolved had no candidate, but conservative men of all parties joined to organize the Constitutional Union party, which also met in Baltimore, and nominated John Bell of Tennessee. Following the disruption of the Democratic party at Charleston, the Republican party called its national convention to meet in the city of Chicago, and after an exciting contest nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois. The campaign was, perhaps, the most memorable in the history of the republic. Though it began with the usual hurrah and enthusiasm, the canvass had not proceeded far when there suddenly fell upon the people a profound seriousness. Arguments were made in sober vein by party speakers, and listened to in sober mood by thousands of voters who had heretofore been wont to applaud the eloquence and rhetoric of campaign orators. A deep conviction laid hold upon the people that the republic had come upon dangerous times, and was fast approaching the greatest crisis in its history. The southern leaders, sullen and angry, denounced both Douglas and Lincoln, and openly threatened that if Lincoln were elected the south would apply the doctrine of Calhoun and signify its disapproval by seceding from the union. Douglas, in a personal campaign, took the field, and ere the canvass had proceeded far, came out boldly and patriotically for the maintenance and preservation of the union. Lincoln, standing firmly on the constitution, and advocating that slavery be confined to the states which it then occupied, patiently and anxiously awaited the result at Springfield,—his audience now multiplied into the tens of thousands, reading by their firesides his speeches and debates. No matter how many questions were talked up, there was but one question uppermost in

the public mind,—the extension of slavery in the territories.

Election day came and passed quietly by, in keeping with the orderly manner in which the campaign had been conducted. The returns showed that Lincoln and Hamlin had received one hundred eighty electoral votes; Douglas twelve, Breckinridge seventy-two, and Bell thirty-nine. “On the day of the election,” writes the historian Rhodes, “the poet Longfellow wrote in his journal, ‘Voted early,’ and the day after, ‘Lincoln is elected. Overwhelming majorities in New York and Pennsylvania. This is a great victory; one can hardly overrate its importance. It is the redemption of the country. Freedom is triumphant.’”

“The meaning of the election was that the great and powerful north declared slavery an evil and insisted that it should not be extended; that while the institution would be sacredly respected where it existed, the conduct of the national government must revert to the policy of the fathers, and confine slavery within bounds; hoping that if it were restricted the time might come when the southern people would themselves acknowledge that they were out of tune with an enlightened world and take steps gradually to abolish the system.

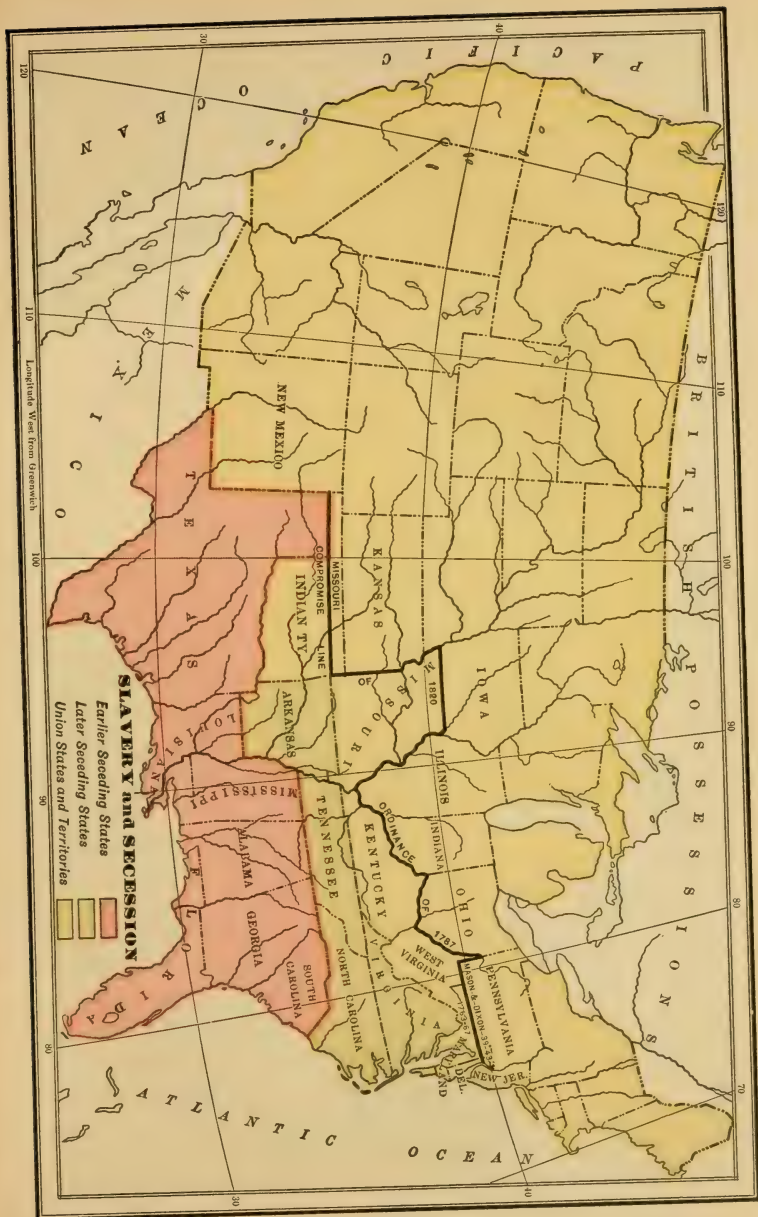
“The north had spoken. In every man’s mind rose unbidden the question, What would be the answer of the south?”

474. Secession.—The north had not long to wait; the answer of the south was *secession*. The presidential election was held on the 8th of November, 1860; on the 17th of the following December, the legislature of South Carolina met at Charleston, and at the end of a three days’ session passed an act of secession dissolving the union hitherto existing between South Carolina and the United States of America. The seed sown by Calhoun had at last borne fruit in an open act of disunion. This sentiment now rapidly spread throughout the southern states. Within six weeks Georgia

and every state bordering on the Gulf of Mexico,—Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas,—had followed South Carolina's example. Nearly all the senators and representatives from those states at once resigned their seats in congress, hastened to the south, and lent their influence to spreading the doctrine of disunion.

On the 4th of February delegates from all the seceded states, excepting Texas, met at Montgomery, Alabama, set up a government in opposition to the authority of the United States, and four days later elected Jefferson Davis of Mississippi president and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia vice-president of the Confederate States of America.

475. Buchanan's Policy.—While these events were taking place in the south, thoughtful men in every section of the country viewed with alarm the rapid spread of the disunion sentiment. The policy of the president and his chief advisers was to conciliate the south and "beg them to return to the union." In a message to congress, Buchanan informed that body that "the long-continued interference of the northern people with the question of slavery in the southern states has at last produced its natural effect." He begged the northern states to repeal their personal liberty laws. He insisted that the southern states had a "right to demand this simple act of justice from the states of the north." Buchanan, however, was not a disunionist,—he denied the right of any state to secede from the union, but he nevertheless arrived at the conclusion that "no power has been delegated to congress, or to any other department of the federal government to coerce a state into submission which is attempting to withdraw, or has actually withdrawn from the union." This policy paralyzed the national government and spread consternation throughout the loyal states. The cry went up from union people all over the land as they recalled how nullification had been suppressed by Andrew Jackson in 1832, "O for an hour of Old Hickory!" Buchanan's cabinet soon went to pieces, the disunionist members



resigning their positions and flying to the south. A union cabinet at once took its place.

In this cabinet was Edwin M. Stanton, a pronounced union man, and John A. Dix, who on assuming his duties as secretary of the treasury roused the patriotism of the whole north by his thrilling dispatch to his revenue officer in New Orleans, "If any one attempts to haul down the American flag, shoot him on the spot." These vigorous northern Democrats saved Buchanan's administration in its final days from complete collapse, and restored confidence in the stability of the national government.

476. Last Efforts at Compromise—The Peace Convention.—In the meantime, Senator John J. Crittenden of Kentucky proposed the "Crittenden Compromise," which asked that an amendment be added to the constitution separating the territory of the United States into a slave-state and a free-state portion, the boundary between them to be the old line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. The compromise provided, among other things, that the United States should pay the owner for all fugitive slaves rescued. The compromise was not looked upon with favor in congress. On the suggestion of the Virginia legislature, a peace conference was called to consider the state of public affairs. Accordingly, delegates from twenty-one states met at Washington on February 4, 1861, and proposed an amendment to the constitution prohibiting slavery north of the parallel of $36^{\circ} 30'$, and permitting it south of that line. By its provisions no state could pass a law giving freedom to a fugitive slave or to slaves accompanying a master temporarily into a free state. Congress could in no way interfere with slavery south of the dividing line. The slave trade was to be prohibited forever in the United States. Like the Crittenden Compromise, the recommendation of the peace conference fell by the wayside,—a general feeling had obtained in congress and throughout the north that there should be no further compromise with slavery.

477. Government Property Seized: Star of the West Fired Upon.—Meanwhile, officers were resigning from the army and the civil service, and joining their fortunes with the seceded states. Arsenal, custom houses, and postoffices were taken possession of, and government property was seized on all sides. Of the southern fortresses, Fortress Monroe, at the entrance of Chesapeake Bay, Fort Sumter in Charleston Harbor, Fort Pickens at Pensacola, and the defences near Key West, alone remained in possession of the government. Fort Sumter had, after the hostile act of South Carolina, been taken possession of by Major Robert Anderson, who was in command of a small force of United States troops at that point. His action was approved by congress, although he received but little encouragement from the president. The steamer *Star of the West* was sent with supplies to Fort Sumter, but on nearing the fort was fired upon by a confederate battery, whereupon it returned to the north and left Major Anderson to provision his garrison as best he could. Nothing was being done by either president or congress; the ship of state seemed becalmed in the face of a threatening storm.

478. New States: The Census: Relative Strength of North and South.—The federal union, at this time, comprised thirty-four states—Minnesota having been admitted in 1858 as the thirty-second state; Oregon in 1859 as the thirty-third; and Kansas in 1861 as the thirty-fourth. While all three came into the union as free states, the constitution of Oregon was peculiar in that it forbade colored persons settling within the borders of that state.

The total population in 1860, according to the eighth census, amounted to 31,443,332,—an increase of more than eight million people in ten years. Of the white population, 18,791,159 persons were in the free states, as opposed to 8,182,684 in the slave states. There were 225,967 free colored persons in the north, and 262,003 in the south. In the north there remained but sixty-four slaves, while the

south had a slave population of 3,953,696. Many people in the north urged that the south would never take up arms against the government for fear of provoking a slave insurrection in its very midst. The north, it will be seen, had a population of more than double that of the south, and in wealth and resources it far surpassed the southern section. The spirit of nationality was strong. Free schools and colleges had been planted everywhere. The great west and northwest states had increased more rapidly in population than any other section. The third largest state of the union, Ohio (white population 2,302,838), was in this section, as were also Indiana (white population 1,339,000) and Illinois (white population 1,704,323), each with a larger population than either Virginia or Missouri,—the only two southern states whose white population reached over a million.

Slavery had retarded the growth of the south in every conceivable way excepting in the raising of cotton and the cultivation of sugar-cane, and no doubt these industries would have thrived as well, if not better, in the hands of free labor. Indeed, as Helper had argued in his "Impending Crisis," free labor in the south had been robbed of its just rewards. Free schools were lacking, railroads and means of intercommunication had not multiplied rapidly; hence travel between the north and south was not fostered. On the other hand, railroads were numerous in the north, and had bound the east firmly to the west by commercial ties which could not be severed. Side by side, two civilizations had grown up in America,—the one, dedicated to progress, had kept step with the spirit of the age,—for the best portion of the civilized world had long since turned its back on slavery; the other had held tenaciously to a system in which it did not at first believe and which even in colonial days had been abhorred. Its whole social and political life had come under the iron rule of a landed aristocracy with slavery as the chief excuse for its existence. The people of the two sections had little in common. Neither understood the other. Since the Com-

promise of 1850 they had been drifting rapidly apart, and refused to be reconciled on the question of slavery. To protect that institution, the threat of secession had been carried out, and when, on March 4, 1861, Abraham Lincoln entered Washington, it was as the president of a severed republic.

CHAPTER XII

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC

1830-1860

479. The Close of an Era.—The year 1860 marked the close of an era in national development which had begun about Jackson's time. The union had grown until it could compete for its rights with the states. The various sections had been held together by compromises which never did more than settle the dispute for the time being. An appeal was now to be made to the sword. The westward movement of the people had brought about a practical application of the question of slavery or freedom to soil hitherto unoccupied,—a question not then decided. The increase of means of communication made migration to the new lands so easy that the troublesome question could no longer be compromised.

480. Territorial Growth.—In 1860 the expanding United States had rounded out the home territory it was to occupy permanently. Like a great band it stretched across the middle of the continent from ocean to ocean. Its commerce could find protection along five-sixths of the habitable coast on the Atlantic; around three-fourths of the Gulf shore proper on the south; and over a thousand miles on the Pacific coast. Not a serious boundary dispute remained to cause anxiety about rights to the soil in the future. With the exception of a few places like the valley of the Red River of the North, the United States occupied the land as far north as was desirable owing to the cold, and as far south as the heat would allow the development of a vigorous people.

POPULATION

481. Growth in Numbers.—So many things depend upon the growth of population, that it must be considered con-

stantly. Not only military and naval strength, but the clearing of the forests, the amount of produce raised, and the extent of manufactures produced, are in direct ratio to the number of workers and the number who are to be fed and clothed. The unusual growth of population in the United States made possible her great development in this middle period. Where three people dwelt in the United States when the union really began, twelve were to be found in 1830, and thirty-one in 1860. In other words, the population had multiplied ten times in seventy years. During the same time, the population of England had not doubled, and that of France had increased only one-half.

The growth in numbers during this period was due even more largely to immigration than that of the preceding years. Between 1820 and 1830, nearly one hundred and fifty thousand people came from the old world to live in the new. During the next ten years, nearly six hundred thousand came. Between 1840 and 1850, the number increased to gigantic proportions. Nearly eight hundred thousand came from Ireland alone, largely because of the failure of the potato crop two years in succession. Almost five hundred thousand came from Germany, owing to political troubles in that country. The total for the ten years was almost two million, or nearly one-tenth of the entire population of the United States. During the next ten years ending in 1860, the number reached two and a half million. Ireland again had contributed the largest number, followed by Germany, then England, then Canada, and then France. In the year 1860, out of every one hundred people living in the United States, thirteen had been born in a foreign country.

482. Distribution.—Although the number of people had increased tenfold, different parts of the union had grown at different rates. People had rushed into the new states. At one time, Indiana increased five hundred per cent in ten years. New Hampshire, on the other hand, which had been

growing at the rate of ten people to every hundred in 1830, had fallen to two to one hundred in 1860. Georgia had fallen in the same way from fifty-one to sixteen.

POPULATION BY STATES

	1830	1840	1850	1860
Alabama	309,527	590,756	771,623	964,201
Arkansas	30,388	97,574	209,897	435,450
California			92,597	379,994
Connecticut	297,675	309,978	370,792	460,147
Delaware	76,748	78,085	91,532	112,216
Dist. of Columbia ..	39,834	43,712	51,687	75,080
Florida	34,730	54,477	87,445	140,424
Georgia	516,823	691,392	906,185	1,057,286
Illinois	157,445	476,183	851,470	1,711,951
Indiana	343,031	685,866	988,416	1,350,428
Iowa		43,112	192,214	674,913
Kentucky	687,917	779,828	982,405	1,155,684
Louisiana	215,739	352,411	517,762	708,002
Maine	399,455	501,793	583,169	628,279
Maryland	447,040	470,019	583,034	687,049
Massachusetts	610,408	737,699	994,514	1,231,066
Michigan	31,639	212,267	397,654	749,113
Minnesota			6,077	172,023
Mississippi	136,621	375,651	606,526	791,305
Missouri	140,455	383,702	682,044	1,182,012
New Hampshire	269,328	284,574	317,976	326,073
New Jersey	320,823	373,306	489,555	672,035
New York	1,918,608	2,428,921	3,097,394	3,880,735
North Carolina	737,987	753,419	869,039	992,622
Ohio	937,903	1,519,467	1,980,329	2,339,511
Oregon			13,294	52,465
Pennsylvania	1,348,233	1,724,033	2,311,786	2,906,215
Rhode Island	97,199	108,830	147,545	174,620
South Carolina	581,185	594,398	668,507	703,708
Tennessee	681,904	829,210	1,002,717	1,109,801
Texas			212,592	604,215
Vermont	280,652	291,942	314,120	315,098
Virginia	1,211,405	1,239,797	1,421,661	1,596,318
Wisconsin		30,945	305,391	775,881

The uneven growth of different parts of the country in population is shown by the rank of the states. Virginia, which had the largest number in 1790, now ranked fifth, being surpassed by New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Illinois. These four were the most populous states, yet two of them had not been founded in 1790. Indiana, the sixth in size, was also a new state. Massachusetts, which ranked as the fourth of the original states, had now fallen to the seventh place. Most of the old states had been surpassed by

the newer ones created by the people in moving westward. Of the thirty-three states making up the union in 1860, Oregon, the newest, had the least population; but Delaware, an original state, ranked next to the least.

The northern states had gained, as a whole, more than had the southern states. In 1830 there were seven million people north of the slavery and freedom line to five million south of it. In 1860 there were nineteen million north to twelve million south of the line.

483. Cities.—The great modern problem, the enormous growth of the cities, was easily predicted in 1860. In 1830 there had been only 26 cities having over eight thousand inhabitants, and no one had more than a quarter of a million. In 1860 there were 141 cities with more than eight thousand people, and two had more than half a million. Out of every hundred people in 1830, only six lived in cities, but thirty years later sixteen out of every hundred preferred the city to the country. Soon one-fifth of the entire population would be in the cities, having abandoned the farms and making the proper management of so many people living together a difficult task. Gas was piped through the streets of the principal cities about 1830, and was much feared at first because of the danger of explosion. Street cars, shaped like stage coaches and hitched several together, were put on the streets of New York about the same time. They were drawn on rails by horses. By 1860 there were over four hundred miles of street-car tracks in the leading cities.

RELATIVE SIZE OF TEN LEADING CITIES

1840	1850	1860
1. New York.....312,710	1. New York.....515,547	1. New York...805,658
2. Baltimore.....102,313	2. Baltimore.....169,054	2. Philadelphia.565,529
3. New Orleans...102,193	3. Boston.....136,881	3. Brooklyn....266,661
4. Philadelphia...93,665	4. Philadelphia...121,376	4. Baltimore...212,418
5. Boston.....93,383	5. New Orleans...116,375	5. Boston.....177,840
6. Cincinnati....46,338	6. Cincinnati....115,435	6. New Orleans.168,675
7. Brooklyn.....36,233	7. Brooklyn.....96,838	7. Cincinnati..161,044
8. Albany.....33,721	8. St. Louis.....77,860	8. St. Louis....160,773
9. Charleston....29,261	9. Albany.....50,763	9. Chicago.....109,260
10. Washington...23,364	10. Pittsburg.....46,601	10. Buffalo.....81,129

EDUCATION

484. Schools and Colleges.—The middle period is marked by the adoption of the public school system, supported by public taxation, in each of the new states as they formed their governments. As the system improved, a “high school” was planned to supplement the course of study offered in the grades. The study of chemistry applied to soils opened the possibility of scientific farming, and “farmers’ high schools” were planned in many states. They were the forerunners of the present agricultural colleges. Many sectarian colleges were opened in the newer states.

485. Newspapers and Mails.—The newspapers of 1860 did not look unlike those of the present day. Those established in large cities had begun to assume their present aspect of great business enterprises. Where the newspapers of Washington or Jackson’s time printed only the news occurring in their immediate vicinity, it was now possible to describe events occurring in all parts of the United States within twenty-four hours after they happened. The invention and spread of the electric telegraph made the difference. In 1799 it took the news of Washington’s death two weeks to reach the Boston newspapers; the inaugural address of Jefferson required only nine days; the annual address of Jackson in 1832 needed only three days; the last address of Buchanan was printed in Boston the morning following its delivery at noon in Washington. What the telegraph was to the newspapers the railroads were to the mails. Mail routes were established over railways as rapidly as they were extended into different parts of the country. Mails and newspapers meant the spread of intelligence and the growth of national pride and feeling.

486. Literature.—As the wealth and leisure of the people increased, a higher condition of life was developed. Printing presses were multiplied and libraries largely increased. Best of all, a home literature had been encouraged and

several writers of merit had been found. As the sketches of Irving gradually grew fewer in number, a new writer of almost equal charm, Oliver Wendell Holmes, appeared to take his place. The novelist, Cooper, was succeeded by another American novelist, Nathaniel Hawthorne. A group of poets had arisen in New England,—Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, James Russell Lowell, and John Greenleaf Whittier. Another not less noted was William Cullen Bryant of New York. Two great historians, Prescott and Motley, were writing of foreign countries, and George Bancroft had issued the first volumes of his history of the United States.

These writers were developed largely by the excellent magazines which had replaced the trashy publications of the earlier time. The North American Review, Harper's Monthly, the Atlantic, and the American Journal of Science were the leaders in this new era of periodical literature.

TRANSPORTATION

487. The Era of Canals.—Although the cost of construction was far greater for a canal than a wagon-road, the weight of goods which a horse could draw on the one was so much larger than the other that canals were laid out to connect all the important waterways. Between 1820 and 1850, nearly three thousand miles of canals were built, chiefly in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Maryland, Illinois, Indiana, and Georgia. On these, vast quantities of coal, grain, timber, flour, and iron were carried to market. Passenger boats drawn by fast horses carried travelers from city to city. "A cent and a half a mile, a mile and a half an hour," was a famous saying which shows the rate of fare and speed.

Before 1860, the canals had reached the height of their usefulness and began to decline. Railroads were built in all directions. Canals could be built only where they could obtain water to fill them. Railroads could be built over

mountains, but canals could not. Railroads could be used the entire year. Canals were closed by ice during a fourth of the year. No horses could draw a boat as rapidly as a locomotive could take a railway train. Yet the canals had filled a great purpose. They had first shown that the fertile western prairies could feed the eastern states by carrying produce to them.

488. The Increase of Railroads.—Slowly the railroads were extended, the locomotives and cars improved, and gradually they took the place of canals. They were built at first to connect navigable streams and lakes, but soon lines were constructed independent of the steamboats. The traveler in 1860 could ride on thirty thousand miles of railroad in the United States where he could have found only about thirty miles in Jackson's administration. The number of miles had increased a thousand times in thirty years. Several short lines connecting New York with Albany and that city with Buffalo were united forming the New York Central and Hudson River railway. It linked together the vessels of the ocean and those of the Great Lakes. The Erie railway was built to connect the ocean with Lake Erie at Cleveland and to reach the Ohio canals. The Pennsylvania railroad was constructed at great expense from Philadelphia across the Alleghany Mountains at Pittsburg. Farther south the Baltimore and Ohio railway connected the ocean with the Ohio River. By 1860, extensions of these "trunk lines" had been pushed farther west.

One could reach the Mississippi on several lines of railroad, and at St. Joseph, Missouri, could reach the Missouri River. From this place, the mails were sent by "overland express" across the continent to California. The post-riders constituting this overland express, on their little ponies flew swiftly across the plains and over the mountains, having once made the entire distance in ten days for a wager. Each rider had his own portion of road to travel, receiving the mail at one end and passing it to the next rider at the other.

NATIONAL UNION AND DISUNION

489. National Feeling.—Slowly the union grew in dignity and importance. Statesmen began to prefer to serve in national rather than state offices. Matters relating to home affairs were left to the states, but those relating to all the people or to foreign countries were quietly given over to the union. Every new state created by the union out of territory governed by the union helped turn the affections of the people away from the old states to the national government. The union prospered and grew rich after Hamilton had given it a good financial system. But the states did not all thrive, and some of them even had to refuse to pay their debts. The people had begun to divide into two classes. Those who believed that the states ought to retain all the powers not given to the national government were said to believe in “state rights.” Those who believed in allowing a strong national government were called “unionists.” If these differences of opinion had been scattered among the people of all parts of the union, nothing serious might have resulted. Unfortunately they fell in exactly with disputes between the north and south over the influence each had in the national government.

490. Sectional Feeling.—Since the time when a territory could become a state depended largely on the number of people it contained, and since each state had two senators, the influence which any section of the United States could exert in the national government was dependent directly upon its population. In the same way, the more people a state has, the more members it can have in the house of representatives. The increase of population was so much more rapid in the northern than in the southern section, as has already been described in this chapter, that it was impossible to maintain permanently a “balance of power” in the political strength of the two. The north could outvote the south at every point.

The south complained of the large sums of money spent by the national government in improving the rivers and harbor; in the northern states, and in building highways and canals through them. They thought this caused more people to reach that part and to settle there. They also complained because much of this money came from protective tariffs levied by congress and therefore paid by both sections. The "internal improvement" system, they said, brought laborers easily to the northern factories where the tariffs sustained them.

On the other hand, the people of the north claimed that immigrants from Europe preferred to settle in the north because they did not wish to be obliged to compete with slave labor. The north also said that the slavery system created social classes which were objectionable to the immigrant laboring classes. Neither side looked sufficiently at the geography of the country which was responsible in the beginning for the rivers, the harbors, the connecting roads, and the manufactories of the north. Neither did they consider the differences of climate, soil, and productions which made slavery profitable in one section and unprofitable in another.

INVENTIONS AND DISCOVERY

491. During This Period, the inventive genius of America was constantly at work. Farm machinery had greatly improved. The steel plow of Jethro Wood, invented in 1814, had come into general use. The threshing machine now took the place of the flail; the mowing machine, the place of the scythe and the sickle; and the reaper, patented by Cyrus H. McCormick in 1834, the place of the old-fashioned cradle. Charles Goodyear's process of vulcanizing rubber, discovered in 1839, had built up a large business in the manufacture of rubber goods. Elias Howe's sewing machine, on which he secured a patent in 1846, had lessened the toil of thousands of sewing-women. Letter envelopes

had come into general use. The steel and the gold pen had supplanted the "goose quill." The discovery and use of kerosene, or petroleum oil, had revolutionized the lighting of dwellings. Friction, or lucifer, matches had displaced all old-fashioned methods of "starting fires" or "striking a light." Manufacturing machinery of all kinds had been made more effective. Locomotives had been greatly improved and the speed on railroads increased. Indeed greater comforts had come into the homes, and abounded everywhere on account of the activity of the inventive genius of America. Morse's telegraph had already been followed by Cyrus W. Field's Atlantic cable and messages had been transmitted from the new to the old world in 1858. Although the absolute success of the cable was not assured until eight years later; still the successful transmission of the message, "Europe and America are united by telegraph. Glory to God in the highest; on earth peace and good will towards men," eloquently told the triumph of the patient inventor, Cyrus W. Field.



LINCOLN AND HIS SON "TAD."

CHAPTER XIII

ABRAHAM LINCOLN AND THE CIVIL WAR

REPUBLICAN: 1861-1865

492. Abraham Lincoln, the sixteenth president of the United States, is the greatest American statesman of the nineteenth century. He had come up from the humblest walks of life, his father having been a poor farmer in the pioneer settlements of Kentucky. When Lincoln was but seven years old, the Lincoln family removed to the state of Indiana, erected a log cabin, and began a failing struggle with poverty, hardship, and toil, which was the constant lot of Abraham Lincoln in his early life. At the age of twenty-one, he removed with his father's family to a farm in the prairie state of Illinois, where another log cabin was erected and the struggle familiar to his Indiana life was repeated. Up to the age of twenty-one, his entire education amounted to but twelve months of schooling, and yet during his youth and younger manhood he so applied himself to the acquiring of an education that he became one of the wisest statesmen of his time. His biographers dwell in detail on the untold hours he spent in studying geometry by the flickering light of a fireplace, and how through his study of the Bible and Shakespeare he acquired such skill in the use of the language as to cause many of his speeches to take rank with the finest specimens of English in our literature. Before coming to the presidency he had been but little in public life. He had served as captain in the Black Hawk war, had been a member of the Illinois state legislature for several terms, and had served a single term in congress during the Mexican war. As a lawyer, he had risen to the head of his profession in his state. At the time of the organization of the Republican party, he

became one of its most prominent leaders. His debates with Douglas while contesting for the senatorship of Illinois revealed his keen insight into the science of government, and brought him prominently before the country as one of the rising men of the nation. As a leader, he was king among men. On assuming the presidency, he called around him an able cabinet, four members of which represented the Democratic party and three the Republican, each man devoted to the preservation of the union, but all representing different views as to how such preservation should be accomplished. Each man had a national reputation, and many predicted that Lincoln with his inexperience would be unable to conduct harmoniously the affairs of government with a cabinet representing such diverse views. But such was his strength of character, his self-reliance and his self-confidence, and such were his powers of persuasion that the cabinet members yielded to his will on every question where the great president found it necessary to dissent from their views. His heart was as tender as a child's, and he loved child nature with such tenderness and affection that wherever he went he won the love of children. No more beautiful picture can be found than that of the great president reading from his mother's Bible to his son Thomas, familiarly known as little Tad. His private grief at the death of his little son William in the White House still makes the reader pause in heartfelt sympathy, and forget for the moment the clash of arms on the battlefields of the civil war. No man more fully realized the peril of the republic than did Lincoln. On bidding his friends and neighbors farewell at Springfield upon setting out for Washington to assume the reins of government, he said, "I now leave, not knowing when or whether ever I may return, with a task before me greater than that which rested upon Washington. Without the assistance of that Divine Being who ever attended him, I cannot succeed. With that assistance, I cannot fail. Trusting in Him who can go with me, and

remain with you, and be everywhere for good, let us confidently hope that all will yet be well."

493. Lincoln's Policy.—On the trip from Springfield to Washington, the president made numerous speeches, many of which revealed the great anxiety he felt for the preservation of the union. Time after time he took occasion to say that the incoming administration had no intention of interfering with the institution of slavery in the states where it already existed, and he sought in every way to give notice to the southern states that they would be protected in their constitutional rights the same as any other section of the union. He entered Washington on the evening of March 3, 1861, and the next day, at half past one o'clock, delivered an able inaugural address which clearly outlined his policy. He held that the union of the states was perpetual; that the United States was one nation and not a federation of states; that no state could, upon its own motion, lawfully withdraw from the union; that the acts of secession passed by South Carolina and the other seceding states were legally void; and that any state opposing the authority of the United States by acts of violence was in a state of insurrection. He served notice that it was his purpose to execute the laws of the United States in every state of the union, and that he would defend the union at whatever cost. "In doing this," he said, "there needs to be no bloodshed or violence; and there shall be none, unless it be forced upon the national authority." He declared it the intention of the government "to hold, occupy, and possess the property and places belonging to the government, and to collect the duties and imposts through the custom houses." "On the question of slavery," he said, "one section of our country believes slavery is right and ought to be extended, while the other believes it is wrong and ought not to be extended. This is the only substantial dispute." "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to

do so. I have no inclination to do so." His closing words, memorable and touching, were to the south:

"In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The government will not assail you. You can have no conflict without being yourselves the aggressors. You have no oath registered in heaven to destroy the government, while I shall have the most solemn one to 'preserve, protect, and defend it.'

"I am loath to close. We are not enemies, but friends. We must not be enemies. Though passion may have strained, it must not break our bonds of affection. The mystic chords of memory, stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the union when again touched, as surely they will be, by the better angels of our nature."

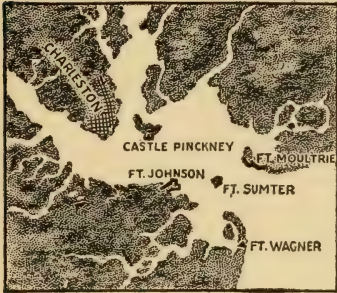
THE YEAR 1861

494. The First Blow Struck: The Fall of Fort Sumter—April 14, 1861.—The confederate authorities at Charleston having summoned Fort Sumter to surrender, the governor of South Carolina was officially notified that the federal authorities would send reinforcements and provisions to relieve the now besieged fortress, — "peaceably if it could, forcibly if it must." Hereupon, on April 11, General P. G. T. Beauregard, in command of the confederate force at Charleston, summoned Major Robert Anderson to surrender.

Anderson refused, and in the early dawn of the morning of April 12, 1861, the quiet of Charleston Bay was broken by the shrieking of a mortar shell fired from a confederate battery. In an instant fifty confederate guns, from every available point of land around the bay, were playing upon the fort with shot and shell,—the south had defied the national authority, the great rebellion was begun! Though the little garrison could offer but feeble resistance, still for



thirty-six hours the flag of the union was kept floating above the ramparts until the last cartridge had been loaded into the guns and the last biscuit eaten. Reduced to these straits, Major Anderson, on Sunday, April 14, 1861, sur-



CHARLESTON BAY

rendered the now wrecked and ruined fortress and withdrew his garrison with all the honors of war.

495. The Effect on the North and South of Sumter's Fall. — The news of this event swept through the loyal states like wildfire. The whole north was instantly aroused. All political differences were swept

aside—men were Republicans and Democrats no more—all were now unionists. Now that the nation's flag had been fired upon and the national authority defied and insulted, there was but one thought uppermost in the northern mind,—“the union must and shall be preserved,” and rebellion suppressed.

On the day following the surrender, Lincoln issued a call for 75,000 volunteers, and the loyal states responded with such enthusiasm and promptness that troops began arriving in Washington on the very next day following the call. Within a very short space of time, 50,000 soldiers were encamped in and about the national capital. The whole north sprang to arms. All talk of compromise now ceased. Those who advocated peace at the sacrifice of the union were reviled as “copperheads.”

The south, on its part, looked upon the fall of Sumter as a glorious victory, and Charleston and the confederacy went wild with joy. The southerners believed that the north would not fight—that the northern people were too much engrossed with the spirit of commercialism to risk a contest at arms with

the south. Jefferson Davis issued a call for 38,000 southern troops, which was responded to with alacrity. Virginia, North Carolina, Arkansas, and Tennessee, whose people had at first refused to join the seceded states, now defied the authority of President Lincoln, passed acts of secession, and joined the confederacy. Thus was the number of revolted states increased to eleven, holding within their borders a population of nine millions of people, more than one-third of whom were slaves.

496. Davis's Reprisals and Lincoln's Blockade.—On the 17th of April, Jefferson Davis issued a proclamation granting letters of marque and reprisal to all owners of private armed vessels, who would prey upon the commerce of the United States. Two days later, President Lincoln proclaimed a blockade of all the southern ports. All the resources of the north were brought to bear to make this blockade effectual. Within a few months, it was impossible for the southern states to carry on their commerce, or hold communication with the outside world, except through the agency of blockade runners. The southern people could grow food in abundance, but they were not a manufacturing people, hence the south must look to Europe for supplies of arms and ammunition. And then, too, England and France had been the chief markets for the raw cotton product of the south. The blockade meant that the south would now be deprived of this source of revenue. In 1860, the amount of cotton exported by the southern states amounted, in round numbers, to \$200,000,000; in 1861, to \$42,000,000; in 1862, to \$4,000,000,—these decreasing figures eloquently show how complete and effectual was the blockade of the southern ports.

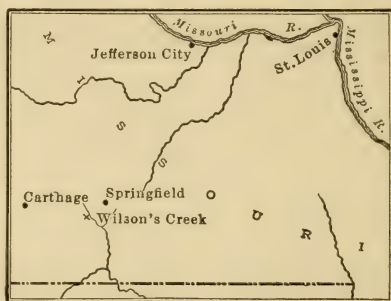
497. The Border States.—On the secession of Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas, President Lincoln instantly recognized that the very life of the nation demanded that the remaining border slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri be saved to the

union cause. Delaware gave but little anxiety, but the struggle in each of the other three states was bitter in the extreme. When one of the Massachusetts regiments was hastening to Washington it was attacked by a mob in the streets of Baltimore, whereupon the soldiers were forced to defend themselves at the point of the bayonet. This riot was a most unfortunate circumstance, for it came at a time when the people of Maryland were ready to yield their support to the national government, though the opposing parties were quite evenly divided. As a consequence, it required the greatest tact on the part of Lincoln in all his relations with the Maryland authorities to prevent Maryland from assuming a hostile attitude toward the government at Washington. Lincoln, however, by his patience and forbearance and his conciliatory tone, finally allayed the excitement, the union sentiment revived, and this important border state was saved to the union. Lincoln, by his wisdom, was also enabled to strengthen the hands of the supporters of the union in the border states of Kentucky and Missouri. When Virginia seceded, the inhabitants in the western portion of the state remaining loyal, imitated in a good cause her bad example and seceded from the Old Dominion. West Virginia at once organized a state government, and two years later (1863), was admitted to the union as a separate state.

498. George B. McClellan and the Campaign in West Virginia.—The national government, recognizing the necessity of extending prompt aid to the loyal West Virginians, appointed George B. McClellan of Cincinnati to the command of the troops in that vicinity. He crossed into the territory of the Old Dominion in the latter part of May, surprised and routed a confederate force at Philippi on the 3d of June, which encouraged the West Virginians to call a convention at Wheeling, and, one week later, to set up a government of their own. The seceded government of Virginia now put forth extraordinary efforts to crush this opposition to her own authority. McClellan, however, at once began an ag-

gressive campaign which ended in complete success in the decisive engagements of Rich Mountain and Carricks Ford. So firmly were these forty counties bound to the union as a result of this timely campaign, that rebellion never again entered within their borders.

499. Missouri Saved to the Union.—Although Missouri in convention had declared against secession by a large majority, yet there were many within her borders who thought Missouri ought to espouse the cause of the south. Francis P. Blair, a prominent citizen of St. Louis, led the union party. He, with Captain Nathaniel Lyon, of the United States arsenal at St. Louis, had raised four regiments as a home guard. Lyon was put in command of these troops, and determined to save Missouri to the union. He sailed up the Missouri River with a union force, captured Jefferson City, the capital, and put the governor and state officers to flight. In July



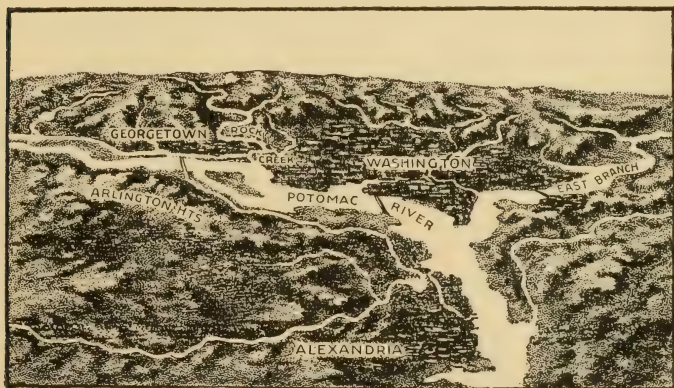
MISSOURI MILITARY MOVEMENTS

a loyal government was set up with a strong union governor at its head. Lyon's force, however, had become greatly reduced in numbers. On August 10, against great odds, he gave battle to a formidable confederate force in the now celebrated battle of Wilson's Creek. After a gallant struggle, in which Lyon lost his life, the union force was obliged to withdraw northward. The state, however, had been saved for the union by Lyon's earlier victories.

500. Lincoln Calls for More Troops—May 3.—It had become apparent to both sides that the struggle at arms would be for a longer time than at first anticipated. Many of the young men of the south had been educated in military academies. The military spirit in that section ran higher than in

the north. They were accustomed to the use of firearms and to exploits in the open field. Some of the ablest generals in the regular army were southerners, among whom were Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and Albert Sidney Johnston. When their states seceded, they resigned their commissions and cast their fortunes with the south. On the other hand, the military spirit in the north was feeble, and if an army was to be of service at all, it was felt by both General Scott, the lieutenant-general of the army, and President Lincoln, that much time and patience would be required to drill, discipline, and properly equip the troops, before aggressive movements could be begun. Lincoln, therefore, on the 3d of May issued his second call for troops for three years, or during the war. He asked for 42,000 volunteers, 23,000 men for the regular army, and for 18,000 men for service on the sea.

501. Washington Threatened.—While these preparations were being pushed forward, the confederate armies were



WASHINGTON AND VICINITY

approaching dangerously near to the national capital. From the rear porch of the White House, President Lincoln could see the confederate flag displayed above the public buildings in Alexandria, a few miles down the river. It was

well known that the intention of the confederate government was to seize Arlington Heights, the estate of Robert E. Lee, across the river from Washington. This was an important point, and, if once secured, would enable the secessionists to throw shell across the river into the city. Baltimore, too, was still giving some trouble, and it was important that a federal force of sufficient size to overawe the mob element be thrown into that city. Lincoln, acting with dispatch, directed General Benjamin F. Butler to seize and fortify Federal Hill. This Butler did so suddenly and with such daring that Baltimore was safe in the hands of the union army ere the rebellious element in that city was aware. He next directed Colonel E. E. Ellsworth, in command of the famous New York Zouaves, to seize Alexandria. This was successfully accomplished.

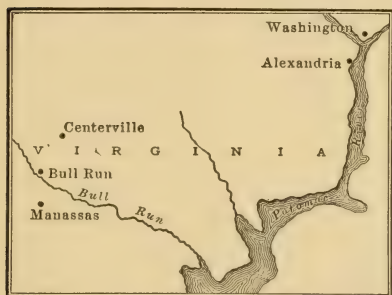
While Ellsworth was taking Alexandria, the union force moved across the Potomac and took possession of the entire range of hills reaching from Arlington Heights to Alexandria. Thus, with Baltimore in the hands of Butler, and the Heights across the Potomac in the possession of the union forces, a feeling of relief came over the national government.

502. Battle of Bull Run—July 21.—Immediately following the secession of Virginia, the confederate seat of government was removed from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia. The north began to grow impatient for some movement worthy of the federal forces and “On to Richmond!” had become the constant cry of both the army and the people. Following the union victories in West Virginia, the confederate forces under General Beauregard had been concentrated at Manassas Junction, a point on one of the Virginia railroads twenty-seven miles west of Alexandria. General Joseph E. Johnston, with another large confederate force, was within supporting distance of Beauregard.

In response to the demand for a forward movement, General Irwin McDowell broke camp at Alexandria, Virginia, on the 16th of July, 1861, with the intention of crushing

Beauregard's army at Manassas. On the morning of the 21st of July the army, came upon the confederate force strongly entrenched between Bull Run and Manassas. The two armies were about equal in strength. McDowell began the attack with such spirit that the confederate forces were being driven steadily from the field. After four hours of fighting, when the federal troops considered the battle as practically won, the unexpected arrival of General Johnston,

with an army of fresh troops, suddenly changed their promised victory into disastrous defeat.



BULL RUN AND MANASSAS

503. The Effect of the Battle of Bull Run.—As the panic-stricken troops, on the day following the battle, came straggling into Washington in the face of a drizzling rain, they were received amidst

a gloom which was felt, not only in Washington, but throughout the length and breadth of the loyal states as well. The south was elated, and felt that foreign recognition would now surely come. The disappointment of the national government, though great, was not sufficient to make it lose sight of the fact that the defeat at Bull Run carried with it a lesson which the north must immediately learn,—namely, that the rebellion could not be suppressed in a day, nor could it ever be suppressed until the raw troops of the north had been drilled into well-disciplined and well-trained soldiers. Congress, the very day after the battle, voted to raise an army of 500,000 men, and made an appropriation of \$500,000,000 for prosecuting the war to a successful issue. This meant war on a larger scale than the continent had ever before known, and gave notice to the south that the north was desperately in earnest. Within

a surprisingly short space of time, 150,000 troops were occupying the tented camps on Arlington Heights and other prominent points about the city of Washington.

504. McClellan Succeeds Scott.—In October, General Winfield Scott, now grown feeble with age, resigned, and President Lincoln appointed General George B. McClellan to the command of all the armies of the United States. McClellan stood in high favor with the soldiers and with the people. He was a graduate of West Point, and had been recognized by the war department for many years as an organizer of unusual ability. On the earnest solicitation of President Lincoln, he had accepted the command of the forces which quelled the rebellion in the counties of western Virginia. Fresh from these victories, he now came to the head of an army of 200,000 men. He threw himself with energy into the business of organizing and building up an army, and in a short time made the splendidly drilled and disciplined troops, comprising the army of the Potomac, the pride of the union.

505. Naval Operations.—In carrying out the plan of making the blockade of the southern ports as effectual as possible, several important naval expeditions were undertaken. In October an expedition under command of Commodore Dupont and General Thomas W. Sherman entered the harbor of Port Royal, South Carolina, and reduced the two confederate forts at that point.

Other important points along the coast were taken, among them Hatteras Inlet, on the coast of North Carolina. Before the close of the year, the blockade of the southern ports from Virginia to Texas had been undertaken by the northern navy, and made as effective as possible considering the small navy which the government had at its command at the breaking out of the war. When the first shot was fired on Sumter, there were but forty-two vessels in commission constituting the United States navy. By the close of the year 1861, 264 armed vessels had been put into service, and by the close

of the war the total was little short of 700, carrying nearly 5,000 guns and more than 50,000 sailors. The vigilant northern sailors captured during the war 1,500 prizes with an aggregate value of \$30,000,000. It is estimated that at the close of the war the south had \$300,000,000 worth of cotton stored in warehouses waiting for shipment.

506. Foreign Relations.—England and France depended upon the south for the raw cotton to supply their numerous factories. The southerners reasoned that these countries would come to their assistance as a matter of self-protection, and that foreign intervention would prove a strong factor in forcing the north to concede the independence of the southern confederacy. England had, however, long since placed herself squarely against the further spread of slavery, and her people, of all nations, would have been the last in the world to encourage the upbuilding of a government whose “cornerstone” was slavery.

Nevertheless, much sympathy for the south was manifested among certain classes in England. The English government itself was not altogether friendly to the United States, though the moral sentiment of the vast majority of the English people was against interference. While the English, the French, the Austrian, and other European governments recognized the south as a belligerent power, they could not be induced to recognize the independence of the confederacy.

The English authorities, however, permitted confederate privateers,—among them the famous cruiser, *Alabama*—to be built and fitted out in English dock-yards to prey upon the commerce of the United States.

507. The Trent Affair.—James M. Mason of Virginia had been appointed commissioner from the southern confederacy to the court of England, and John Slidell of Louisiana to the court of France. On November 8, Captain Charles Wilkes of the *San Jacinto* intercepted the *Trent*, the British mail steamer on which they were going to England, and forcibly took from her as prisoners Mason and Slidell and

their secretaries. England at once demanded the release of the envoys, and an apology for such a breach of international law. The international rights for which England contended were such as the United States herself had previously insisted upon, therefore the president promptly disavowed the act, and the prisoners were given over to the British minister.

508. Situation at the Close of the Year.—At the close of the year 1861, both the confederate and union armies were well organized. The north had 640,000 men in the field, while the confederates had 210,000, and had issued a call for 400,000 volunteers. Through Lincoln's policy, the slave states of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri had been held in the union, and West Virginia had been severed from the Old Dominion. The United States government had established a blockade of the southern ports.

Although defeated in West Virginia, the arms of the south had been successful in the first great battle of the war—Bull Run. The confederate government securely held eastern Virginia, with its capital at Richmond, and had erected formidable defences on the Mississippi River from Columbus, Kentucky, to Forts Jackson and Warren, below New Orleans. It had also established a line of defence from Columbus, Kentucky, eastward to the Cumberland Mountains. Along this line had been erected strong fortifications at Columbus, Fort Henry, Donelson, Bowling Green, Mill Springs, and Cumberland Gap.

IMPORTANT BATTLES OF 1861

NAME OF BATTLE	Place Where Fought	Date	Commanding General of Union Army	Commanding General of Confederate Army
Bull Run.....	Bull Run, Va.	July 21	Brig.-Gen. I. McDowell	Gen. J. E. Johnston
Wilson's Creek	Wilson's Creek, Mo.	Aug. 10.....	Brig.-Gen. N. Lyon	Brig.-Gen. B. McCulloch
Ball's Bluff....	Ball's Bluff, Va.	Oct. 21	Gen. C. P. Stone	Gen. N. G. Evans
Belmont	Belmont, Mo.	Nov. 7	Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Maj.-Gen. L. L. Polk



WILLIAM T. SHERMAN
ULYSSES S. GRANT

DAVID G. FARRAGUT
PHILIP H. SHERIDAN

UNION COMMANDERS

THE YEAR 1862

509. Plan of Operations for 1862.—At the beginning of the year 1862, the government at Washington planned for a vigorous prosecution of the war. It was resolved (1) to make the blockade of the southern ports more effective; (2) to capture the confederate fortresses along the Mississippi River, open that river to navigation, and cut the confederacy in twain; (3) to break the confederate line of defences from Cumberland Gap to the Mississippi, and to push a union army southward through Kentucky and Tennessee to some point on the coast; (4) to capture Richmond and overthrow the confederate government.

IN THE WEST

MISSOURI HELD AND ARKANSAS RECLAIMED

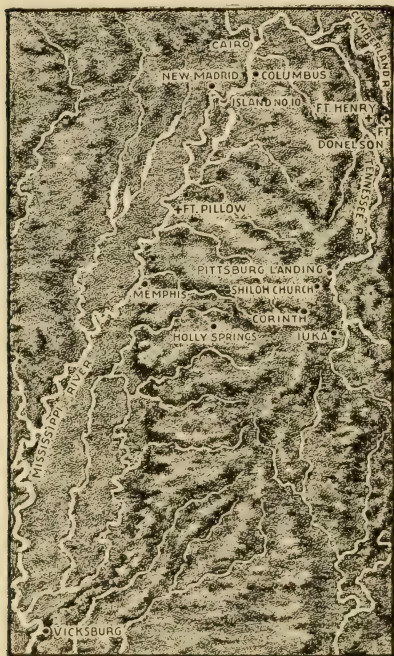
510. Battle of Pea Ridge—March 7-8.—Early in 1862, General Earl Van Dorn was sent to take command of a confederate force, operating in the corners of the three states, Missouri, Kansas, and Arkansas. General Samuel Curtis, with a union force, crossed into Arkansas, and fortified a strong position on Pea Ridge in the Ozark Mountains, where he was attacked by General Van Dorn, whose forces were beaten and put to rout. The south never again attempted organized warfare in Missouri, and later in the year the insurgents were again defeated near Pea Ridge, and Missouri was from that time on fairly established in loyalty to the union. The following year, Arkansas was reclaimed, and President Lincoln asked that its representatives and senators be readmitted to congress.

DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI VALLEY WITH GRANT

511. The Union Victories at Fort Henry—Feb. 6, and Fort Donelson—Feb. 16.—The task of beginning operations in the west fell upon General Ulysses S. Grant, in command of a division of the western army in the district of Cairo. He was to coöperate with a gun-boat fleet under Commodore Andrew H. Foote, which was to ascend the

Tennessee River and bombard Fort Henry. This the fleet promptly did, forcing the fort's surrender within two hours. Commodore Foote was directed to return to the Ohio River, make for Fort Donelson at once, and prepare for a combined attack. On the 12th of February, Grant's forces completely surrounded Donelson, which was held by

20,000 men under command of Generals Gideon J. Pillow, John B. Floyd, and Simon B. Buckner. The confederate generals, in a council of war, decided to cut their way through Grant's lines. Just before dawn on the morning of the 15th, 10,000 of the besieged force came pouring through the woods and fell upon the union right, but they met a severe repulse. Hereupon General Buckner, at daybreak of the 16th, sent to Grant asking terms of capitulation.



DOWN THE MISSISSIPPI

Grant's reply, "No terms except unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted.—I propose to move immediately upon your works," was cheered to the echo in the north, and "Unconditional Surrender" Grant became the hero of the western army. Fort Donelson surrendered, and General Buckner and 15,000 troops became prisoners of war.

512. Effect of These Victories.—The capture of Forts Henry and Donelson had broken the confederate line of defences, and they were compelled to fall back from Columbus on the Mississippi, and Bowling Green in central Kentucky. Thus the state of Kentucky was freed from confederate forces, and the Mississippi was open as far south as Island Number Ten. General Buell now hastened, with a union force, to occupy Nashville, Tennessee, which was abandoned by the now alarmed confederate general without even an attempt to hold it. The confederates then fell back and concentrated their forces at Corinth in the northeast corner of Mississippi.

513. Battle of Shiloh or Pittsburg Landing—April 6-7.—Corinth was situated at the crossing of two very important southern railroads,—one connecting Memphis with the east, the other leading south to the cotton states. After the capture of Fort Donelson, General Henry W. Halleck, at the head of the army of the west, ordered the army of the Tennessee, to ascend the Tennessee River, to encamp at Pittsburg Landing, about twenty miles north of Corinth, and to prepare for an attack upon that strategic point. General Grant assumed command of these forces, and awaited the arrival of General Buell with the army of the Ohio, before attacking the confederate intrenchments. General Johnston decided to attack the federal forces before Buell's reinforcements could arrive. Early on the morning of April 6, the confederates rushed through the woods and drove the union pickets within the lines. An old log meeting-house called Shiloh, some two or three miles from Pittsburg Landing, was the key to the union position. General William T. Sherman commanded here, and so inspired confidence in his raw recruits that they rendered services worthy of veterans. But the union army fell steadily back before the dash and the impetuous charge of the southern troops, who by noon were in possession of the union camps. The loss of General Johnston, who had fallen on the field of battle early in the afternoon, somewhat checked the confederate advance, and

before the day closed the attack had spent its force. Night came, and with it Buell's reinforcements.

On the 7th, Grant's forces became the attacking party, and all day long the confederates were driven steadily from the field, until they beat a hasty retreat,—falling back unpursued to their former position at Corinth.

514. Capture of New Madrid—March 14, and Island Number Ten—April 8: Opening of the Upper Mississippi.—In the meantime, General John Pope had attacked New Madrid on the Mississippi River. The confederate gunboats were soon disabled, and the garrison fled to Island Number Ten, a few miles south, leaving ammunition, guns, and tents behind. Island Number Ten was forced to surrender on April 8. The Mississippi was thus opened as far south as Fort Pillow, near Memphis.

515. Capture of Corinth—May 30.—After the battle at Pittsburg Landing, General Henry W. Halleck, arrived from St. Louis and took command in the field. Grant advised an immediate attack upon Corinth before the shattered southern forces would have time to recover, but it was the 30th of April before General Halleck commenced his slow advance. On the 30th of May he entered the besieged city—Beauregard having evacuated on the night of May 29.

General Halleck was soon called to Washington to assume the duties of general-in-chief of all the armies of the republic, and Grant became department commander, with headquarters at Corinth.

516. Effects of Shiloh and Island Number Ten.—After the capture of Corinth, Fort Pillow, on the Mississippi, was abandoned by the confederates, and the union gunboats proceeded to Memphis. After a fierce contest, the national forces took possession of that city (June 6), thus opening the Mississippi as far south as this point and gaining control of the railroad connecting Memphis with Charleston, South Carolina. The only railroad connection which the confederate states at the west now had with Rich-

mond was by the single line of railroad running east from Vicksburg.

Thus by the middle of the year 1862 the state of Kentucky and all of western Tennessee had been practically cleared of the confederate army.

AT THE MOUTH OF THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER WITH FARRAGUT

517. The Opening of the Lower Mississippi: Capture of New Orleans—April 18 to May 1.—On the west bank of the Mississippi River, comparatively free from attacks by the federal forces, were three great states,—Louisiana, Texas, and Arkansas,—with their important tributaries to the Mississippi. These states could not only give their quota of soldiers to the confederacy, but could furnish provisions of all kinds, and an abundance of cotton sufficient to meet the entire war expenses of the south. New Orleans, the largest southern city, had important workshops and facilities for manufacturing weapons of war and for building ironclad ships. Realizing the importance of securing New Orleans, the national government, early in 1862, commissioned Commodore David G. Farragut to reduce the forts at the mouth of the Mississippi and take New Orleans. For five days and nights an unremitting fire was kept up, which inflicted great damage. This method of war, however, was too slow for Farragut, who now decided to run the batteries, and before dawn on the morning of the 24th accomplished such a brilliant feat in naval warfare as to rank him among the great leaders of the civil war, and give him his “passport to fame immortal.” The forts were soon silenced, and the entire confederate fleet of fifteen vessels,—two of them ironclad, one the iron ram *Manasses*,—was either captured or destroyed, with the loss of but one ship from Farragut’s squadron of wooden vessels. Farragut arrived before New Orleans on the 25th of April and demanded the surrender of the city. On the 29th of April, the flag of the union was raised above the city hall, and on May 1 General Butler,

who had accompanied Farragut with a military force, took formal possession of the city.

This capture of New Orleans was a severe blow to the south. It crushed the rebellion in Louisiana, separated Texas and Arkansas from the confederacy, took from it one of the greatest grain and cattle countries within its limits, and gave to the union government the lower Mississippi River as a base of operations.

IN THE CENTER

IN KENTUCKY AND TENNESSEE WITH BUELL AND ROSECRANS

518. Bragg Invades Kentucky. — Beauregard having resigned on account of ill-health, General Braxton Bragg succeeded to his command, and at once planned an invasion of Kentucky. General Buell at the time was advancing in the direction of Chattanooga, but marched so slowly that Bragg reached there first and hastened northward into Tennessee. Now began the race for Louisville,—Buell entering just a few days in advance of Bragg. The union commander soon turned south, and the hostile armies met at Perryville (October 8). After a stubborn conflict, Bragg retired under cover of the night and retreated from Kentucky.

519. Battle of Murfreesboro—Dec. 31 to Jan. 2.—General Bragg, after his retreat from Perryville, again moved northward and concentrated his forces at Murfreesboro. General William S. Rosecrans, who had succeeded Buell in command of the union forces, advanced to attack Bragg. In the early dawn of December 31, the armies met. The confederates, at first successful, were held in check by Sheridan's division until Rosecrans re-formed his lines on a favorable rise of ground and stationed his artillery. On January 2, Bragg renewed the attack, but Rosecrans had been given time to make his position impregnable. Despairing of victory, Bragg retreated, leaving middle Tennessee free from confederate forces.

IN THE EAST

THE ALARM AT HAMPTON ROADS—THE MONITOR AND THE MERRIMAC

520. The Confederate Ironclad Merrimac Threatens to Raise the Blockade—March 8.—Shortly after the fall of Sumter, the United States government had ordered the destruction of the most important of all its navy yards,—that at Norfolk, Virginia,—rather than see it fall into the hands of the confederacy. At that time a large number of vessels were scuttled,—among them the fine old frigate Merrimac. When Norfolk fell into the hands of the secessionists, the Merrimac was raised, converted into an ironclad ram, and directed to raise the blockade in Hampton Roads



HAMPTON ROADS

at the mouth of the James River. On the 8th of March, the Merrimac encountered the Cumberland, which poured broadside after broadside into her strange looking antagonist, but all to no purpose,—her shot glanced from the Merrimac's sloping roof without inflicting the slightest damage. She then rammed the Cumberland with

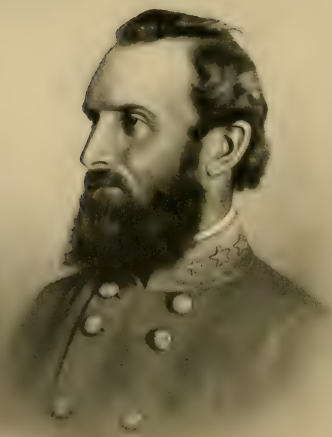
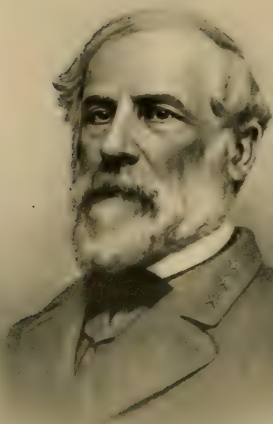
her iron beak, driving such a hole in her side that she soon sank, carrying down nearly all on board,—her flag still flying at the mast, and her guns bidding defiance at the water's edge. The Merrimac next destroyed the Congress, and sought to engage the Minnesota, but that vessel having run aground in shallow water, the Merrimac steamed back to Norfolk, intending to return to complete her work on the morrow.

521. The Battle between the Ironclads—March 9.—On the 9th of March, the joyful news came over the wires that the Merrimac had been vanquished by the little Monitor and driven under cover at Norfolk. Immediately there went up

the question, whence came the Monitor?—a name heretofore unknown to the American navy. This vessel, too, was an ironclad, the invention of John Ericsson, and had arrived from New York at Hampton Roads at midnight on the 8th of March, and anchored beside the Minnesota. The Merrimac, returning, was about to open fire on the Minnesota, when there suddenly shot out from under her prow Ericsson's Monitor,—and the battle between the two ironclads began. For three hours the struggle continued, when the Merrimac gave up the contest and withdrew to Norfolk, leaving the "Yankee cheesebox," as the Monitor was called on account of her appearance, in undisputed possession of Hampton Roads. The Monitor had saved the union cause. Upon no single event of the war did greater issues hang.

ON TO RICHMOND

522. McClellan's Peninsular Campaign.—McClellan had taken command of the army of the Potomac immediately after the Bull Run disaster. His task was to crush the confederate army of Virginia and overthrow the confederate government at Richmond. This he was urged to accomplish at the earliest possible date. But, for some unaccountable reason, he remained inactive, occupying himself with brilliant reviews and giving no promise of a forward movement. Autumn passed and winter came, and still "all was quiet on the Potomac." The whole north now became impatient. "On to Richmond!" became the incessant cry of the public press, of the people, of congress, and, indeed, of the splendid army itself. Patience at last reached its limit, and President Lincoln, early in January, 1862, issued a peremptory order for a forward movement. McClellan still delayed two months longer, and the last of March had arrived ere he began embarking his army on transports at Washington. He then passed down the Potomac River, landed at Fortress Monroe on April 2, 1862, and began the disastrous peninsular campaign.



ROBERT E. LEE
JOSEPH E. JOHNSTON

JEFFERSON DAVIS
THOMAS J. JACKSON

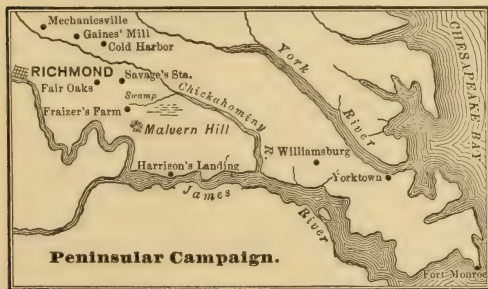
CONFEDERATE LEADERS

The York and the James rivers run nearly parallel from a point above Richmond to the points where the two streams empty their waters into the Chesapeake Bay, at a distance of about twenty miles apart. The strip of land lying between these two streams is called the peninsula. McClellan's plan was to move up this peninsula, carry his supplies on boats up the York River, and take Richmond.

523. Yorktown Taken—April 4: Battle of Williamsburg—May 5-6.—McClellan at once appeared before Yorktown (April 4), and wasted a month in a useless siege. When he finally decided to reduce its fortifications by a bombardment, Yorktown was quietly evacuated. General Joseph E. Hooker overtook the retreating confederates at Williamsburg on May 5, and on the following day captured that point.

524. Battle of Fair Oaks or Seven Pines—May 31 and June 1.—General Joseph E. Johnston, chief in command of the confederate forces, perceiving McClellan's timidity, fell upon the union advance encamped along the Williamsburg and

Richmond railroad, between Fair Oaks Station and Seven Pines, only six miles from Richmond. In the two days' bloody battle which ensued, the fighting was most desperate.



In the engagement, General Johnston was wounded and carried from the field, and the confederates finally gave up the contest, retiring to Richmond.

While the union army won the battle, the confederate army was not crushed, and it now came under the leadership of General Robert E. Lee.

525. Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah Valley: Washington Threatened.—At this juncture, the unwelcome news was received at the national capital that General Thomas J. Jackson was moving down the Shenandoah valley, sweeping everything before him and threatening Washington. At the battle of Bull Run, Jackson, on account of his firm stand, had won the nickname "Stonewall." Lincoln, recognizing in him a general of great ability, had good cause to be alarmed at the turn affairs had taken, and at once ordered McDowell north to the defence of the national capital. He then directed General Nathaniel P. Banks at Harper's Ferry, and General John C. Fremont at Franklin, to move to the Shenandoah valley and capture the raiding general. But that dashing leader, having accomplished the purpose for which he was sent north,—to threaten Washington and thereby force the return of McDowell's army to the north,—saw it was high time that he rejoin his chief at Richmond. He accordingly turned southward, and, by a series of brilliantly and rapidly executed movements, out-generalled Fremont, Banks, and several other union commanders, and carried his entire force down by rail to join Lee in his contest with McClellan.

526. The "Seven Days' Fight" before Richmond—June 26 to July 1.—McClellan, disappointed at not receiving reinforcements under McDowell, and fearful lest he could not protect his supplies on the York River, resolved on changing his base to the James River,—an undertaking which required the greatest skill in its accomplishment. It was necessary for his army to shield and defend a train of 5,000 wagons loaded with provisions; 25,000 head of cattle; and large quantities of reserve artillery and munitions of war.

Lee, unaware of McClellan's intention, fell upon the union right at Mechanicsville (June 26), thereby precipitating the series of battles known as the "Seven Days' Fight" before Richmond. Jackson failed to arrive on the 26th, thus causing Lee's failure at Mechanicsville. However, on the

following day, Jackson's troops, elated with their northern victories, came rolling into the station at Richmond, and Jackson hastened to join his chief on the battlefield of Gaines's Mill (June 27), where Lee had attacked General Fitzhugh Porter. Porter maintained an unequal contest with this combined confederate army through all that day, but he was finally forced from the field. On the morning of the 28th, he burned his bridges behind him, and hastened forward to cover the retreat of McClellan's army. On the 29th, a battle was fought at Savage's Station, in which the confederates were repulsed, and on the 30th another at White Oak Swamp, where the union army repeatedly drove back the confederate advance and remained in possession of the field until nightfall, when it retired. On the same day was fought the fierce battle of Fraizer's Farm. The following day (July 1), McClellan made his final stand at Malvern Hill. His position was here impregnable. Lee, however, unwilling to give up the contest, gave battle at Malvern, but his ill-advised attack resulted only in the useless destruction of life. Lee, foiled and disappointed, finally gave up the battle; and on the night of July 1, 1862, under cover of a storm, McClellan retired to Harrison's Landing, on the James River.

527. The Effect of McClellan's Failure to Capture Richmond.—The retreat from the York to the James was said by McClellan's friends to have been conducted most skillfully, but this did not appease the north. The country had little use for a general who was great only in flight. The campaign which had begun with such high hopes to the country was condemned as an inexcusable failure and the army of the Potomac and its now much abused leader were soon recalled to the north. The gloom which fell upon the north at this time was as great as that which had followed the disaster at Bull Run. The loyal governors recommenced recruiting, and President Lincoln, on the very day McClellan had accomplished his change of base (July 1), issued a call for

300,000 volunteers. "We are coming, Father Abraham, 300,000 strong," was the refrain which went up from every recruiting station throughout the length and breadth of the loyal states.

POPE'S ARMY OF VIRGINIA MEETS WITH DISASTER

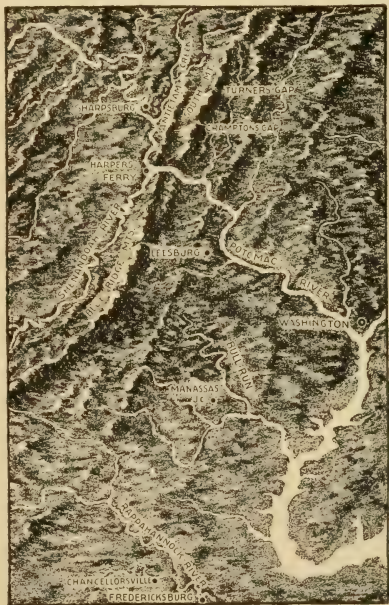
528. The Army of Virginia Created.—In the state of Virginia, were three separate and distinct military departments over which McClellan, who commanded the army of the Potomac, had no control—that of the Rappahannock under General McDowell, that of the Shenandoah under General Banks, and that of the western part of the state under General Fremont. Following the raid of Stonewall Jackson in the Shenandoah valley, these three departments were united and became the army of Virginia, with General John Pope as its commanding officer. Following the unsuccessful peninsular campaign, the country now looked to Pope to retrieve McClellan's failure.

529. Pope's Campaign and the "Second Bull Run."—Pope posted his army at the eastern base of the Blue Ridge Mountains in the upper valley of the Rappahannock, so that he could protect the Shenandoah valley, hold the Rappahannock River from its source to its mouth, and be within safe distance of Washington, should his presence be needed there. Shortly after the "Seven Days' Fight," Lee had sent Stonewall Jackson north on another of his daring raids, and a little later General James Longstreet was sent to join with Jackson in defeating Pope before McClellan could come to his assistance. On August 29 the second battle of Bull Run followed. On that day the issue was about equal on both sides, but on the 30th, Longstreet having arrived, the battle ended disastrously to the union arms. On September 2, the army of Virginia was merged into the army of the Potomac, with McClellan again the chief general in the field under Halleck. Pope was transferred to a western command.

LEE CROSSES THE POTOMAC—ALARM AT THE NORTH

530. Invasion of Maryland.—Bull Run was hardly won ere Lee, with an army of 60,000 men, crossed the Potomac at Leesburg and began the invasion of Maryland. McClellan at once gave chase with the army of the Potomac, numbering more than 80,000 men. Lee now passed westward through the gaps of South Mountain, hoping to reach Pennsylvania by the little mountain valley west of that range of the Blue Ridge. McClellan by this time was close upon Lee's heels, and on the 15th, brought Lee to bay on Antietam Creek—a little stream entering into the Potomac a short distance above Harper's Ferry.

531. Battle of Antietam—September 17.—On the early dawn of the morning of the 17th of September, General Hooker—"fighting Joe Hooker," as his troops called him—opened the engagement on the union side. The battle which followed was one of the most sanguinary of the entire war, McClellan losing one-sixth of his army and Lee one-fourth of the men who had crossed the Potomac with him two weeks before. Only night put an end to the fearful carnage, and both armies ceased their fighting, content to let the other rest. While the union army had been badly shaken, Lee's army had been so shattered and crip-



FIRST INVASION OF THE NORTH

pled that it needed but a vigorous attack on the morrow—such as Grant waged at Shiloh—to end the struggle. But McClellan waited for reinforcements all through that day. On the morning of the 19th of September, he prepared to renew the battle, but he was too late—Lee under cover of the night had escaped with his now sullen and discouraged army across the Potomac into Virginia. McClellan made no effort to pursue Lee. President Lincoln finally lost all patience with McClellan, and removed him from the command of the army of the Potomac, placing in his stead the amiable Ambrose E. Burnside.

BURNSIDE AT FREDERICKSBURG

532. Battle of Fredericksburg—December 13.—Having gathered an army of more than 100,000 men, Burnside moved down the Rappahannock and took a position on the north side of that stream across from Fredericksburg. That city refused to surrender and on the following day Lee's army arrived and intrenched itself on the heights surrounding the city. Burnside, impatient to attack, crossed the stream on pontoon bridges on the 11th and 12th of December and on the 13th gave battle. At the foot of the height, immediately back of Fredericksburg, was a sunken road, and, on its lower side, an old stone wall, behind which was massed, four ranks deep, a confederate force. Up the slope leading to this breastwork the union troops swept time after time to within but a few yards of the wall, but they were met each time by a sheet of flame, piling the dead and wounded in heaps upon the field. The same daring and bravery which had characterized the union troops at Antietam were repeated over and over, but all to no purpose—Fredericksburg was another field of carnage, and this time the victory rested with the army of the south. Burnside soon retired as chief of the army of the Potomac, General Hooker succeeding to the command.

THE WAR NOW FOR THE UNION AND AGAINST SLAVERY

533. Lincoln Proclaims Freedom to the Slaves—September 22, 1862 and January 1, 1863.—The war up to Antietam had been a war for the preservation of the union and not for the abolition of slavery. Although the antislavery advocates of the north had kept the slavery question constantly before the public, President Lincoln refused to be hurried in such an important matter, until, in his judgment, the time should be ripe to take the step as “a measure of war.” After the victory at Antietam, he felt that the time had come to strike the south a blow, and to allow the moral sentiment of the nation to assert itself. Accordingly, five days after the victory at Antietam, he issued his first Emancipation Proclamation (September 22), which served notice on the seceded states that unless they had laid down their arms and acknowledged their allegiance to the union by New Year’s Day of January, 1863, he should formally declare all slaves within their borders free. The south, confident of victory, laughed his proclamation to scorn, but the blow, nevertheless, fell full upon that section—the confederacy was now placed before the civilized world in its true light, as the champion of the detested institution of slavery. True to his warning, Lincoln issued his final proclamation on the first day of January, 1863, and thereby destroyed the last hope of the south for foreign intervention. It now became a war, not only for the union, but against slavery, and along that line the issue was to be fought to a close.

THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR

534. The Situation at the close of the second year of the war was to the advantage of the union cause in the west, while in the east the opposing armies still held each other at bay—neither having gained the advantage. The Emancipation Proclamation met with favor at the north and commanded the respect of the civilized nations of the world. Lincoln followed his September Emancipation

Proclamation by another call (October 17), for 300,000 volunteers, which met with a generous response at the north. Halleck was still the general-in-chief of the union armies. Hooker was now to succeed Burnside as the commander of the army of the Potomac, and try his skill at war with Lee. The union armies of the west were united in two departments, with Rosecrans in the center, at the head of the army of the Cumberland, and Grant on the Mississippi, at the head of the army of the Mississippi and the Tennessee.

IMPORTANT BATTLES OF 1862

NAME OF BATTLE	Place Where Fought	Date	Commanding General of Union Army	Commanding General of Confederate Army
Mill Springs ..	Mill Springs, Ky.	Jan. 19	Brig.-Gen. G. H. Thomas	Maj.-Gen. G. B. Crittenden
Fort Donelson	Ft. Donelson, Tenn.	Feb. 16	Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Brig.-Gens. G. J. Pillow, J. B. Floyd and S. B. Buckner
Pea Ridge.....	Pea Ridge, Ark.	March 7-8 ..	Brig.-Gen. S. R. Curtis	Maj.-Gen. E. VanDorn
Merrimac and Monitor	Hampton Roads, Va.	March 9	Lieut. J. L. Worden	Flag-Officer F. Buchanan
Shiloh.....	Pittsburg Landing, Tenn.	April 6-7...	Brig.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. A. S. Johnston
Island No. 10..	Island No. 10, Tenn.	April 7	Maj.-Gen. J. Pope	Maj.-Gens. J. P. McCown and W. W. Mackall
New Orleans..	New Orleans, La.	April 25	Flag-Officer D. G. Farragut	Com. J. K. Mitchell
Fair Oaks	Fair Oaks, Va.	May 31-June 1	Maj.-Gen. B. F. Butler	Maj.-Gen. M. Lovell
Seven Days' Battles (Va.)	Mechanicsville Savage's Station White Oak Swamp Fraizer's Farm Malvern Hill	June 26-July 1	Maj.-Gen. McClellan	Gen. J. E. Johnston Gen. R. E. Lee
Baton Rouge .	Baton Rouge, La.	Aug. 5	Brig.-Gen. T. Williams	Maj.-Gen. J. C. Breckinridge
Bull Run (Second)	Bull Run, Va.	Aug. 29-30	Maj.-Gen. J. Pope	Gen. R. E. Lee
Antietam.....	Antietam Creek, Md.	Sept. 17	Maj.-Gen. McClellan	Gen. R. E. Lee
Iuka	Iuka, Miss.	Sept. 19	Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	Maj.-Gen. S. Price
Corinth	Corinth, Miss.	Oct. 4	Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	Maj.-Gen. E. VanDorn
Perryville	Perryville, Ky.	Oct. 8	Maj.-Gen. D. C. Buell	Gen. B. Bragg
Fredericksburg	Fredericksburg, Va.	Dec. 13	Maj.-Gen. A. E. Burnside	Gen. R. E. Lee
First Vicksburg	Chickasaw Bayou, Miss.	Dec. 28	Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman	Lieut.-Gen. J. C. Pemberton
Murfreesboro.	Stone's River, Tenn.	Dec. 31-Jan. 2, 1863	Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	Gen. B. Bragg

THE YEAR 1863

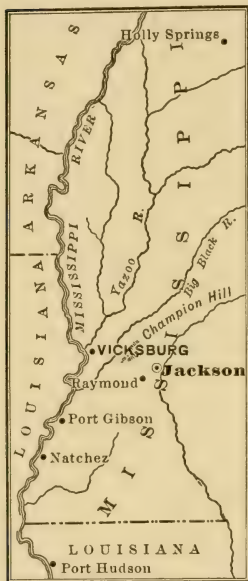
535. Plan of Operations.—The plan of operations in 1863 was to prosecute the war along the same lines which the army and navy had been fighting in the previous year: (1) The blockade, already effective, was to be made more so by constructing and putting into service many iron-clads; (2) the army of the west under Grant was to complete the opening of the Mississippi River, thereby completely severing the confederacy; (3) the army of the center under Rosecrans was to take Chattanooga, and from there push through to some point on the Gulf or Atlantic coast; (4) the army of the Potomac, now under Hooker, was to destroy Lee's army and capture Richmond.

IN THE WEST

GRANT AND VICKSBURG

536. Campaign against Vicksburg.—The confederates still held the Mississippi River from Vicksburg to Port Hudson, and this must now be wrested from them, for Vicksburg was the key to the Mississippi River. In the autumn of 1862, Grant directed Sherman to descend the river from Memphis with a fleet under Porter, and capture the city, while he himself moved south into Mississippi, intending to keep Pemberton, commander of the confederate forces in that state, engaged as far from Vicksburg as possible. A confederate force under General Van Dorn, however, captured Holly Springs, Grant's depot of supplies, thereby cutting off the union line of communication with the north, and defeating Grant's plan. Sherman, not informed of this misfortune, moved down the Mississippi, landed on the Yazoo River, and made an unsuccessful attack upon the fortifications some miles above Vicksburg. This first effort failing, Grant resolved on a second plan, and in January, 1863, massed the union troops on the west bank of the Mississippi, opposite Vicksburg. Deciding that the only successful plan would be to attack the city from the south, Grant deter-

mined to run the batteries at Vicksburg, and on the night of April 16 a fleet under Porter performed this dangerous and daring feat, with the loss of but one of Porter's boats. The army marched south on the west bank of the river, crossed it, and on the 29th of April, landed at a point about twenty miles south of Vicksburg. Port Gibson was captured (May 1), and an engagement won at Raymond (May 12).



VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN

Grant then advanced on Jackson, the state capital of Mississippi, where all railroads communicating with Vicksburg connected. General Joseph E. Johnston gave battle at that point, but after a severe engagement, the confederates fled, and the union troops entered the city. Grant now turned westward toward Vicksburg, thus separating the forces of Johnston and Pemberton. Grant defeated Pemberton in a hard fought battle at Champion Hill (May 16), and on the following day completely routed him at Big Black River. Pemberton now retired to the intrenchments at Vicksburg, caught like a mouse in a trap. Grant stationed his batteries ready for action, and sent word to Porter to open fire on the river front. As

the first shot rang out from the fleet, Grant ordered an assault, but the gallant charge was repulsed with great loss. Hereupon Grant gave up all thought of storming the strong fortifications, and settled down to a siege which lasted for forty-three days. By the 3d of July Pemberton was starved out, and raised the white flag above his works. On the following day Vicksburg fell, Pemberton surrendering 31,600 men as prisoners of war.

537. Effect of the Fall of Vicksburg.—A few days later, Port Hudson surrendered and the work of Grant in the Mississippi valley was accomplished—the great river was now open from its source to its mouth, and the confederacy cut in twain. One of the chief plans of the war had thus been accomplished. The success of the union armies in the west was due to the skill and persistent efforts of one great man, General Ulysses S. Grant, who was now given the rank of major-general in the union army. The fall of Vicksburg ended his service in the Mississippi valley.

IN THE CENTER

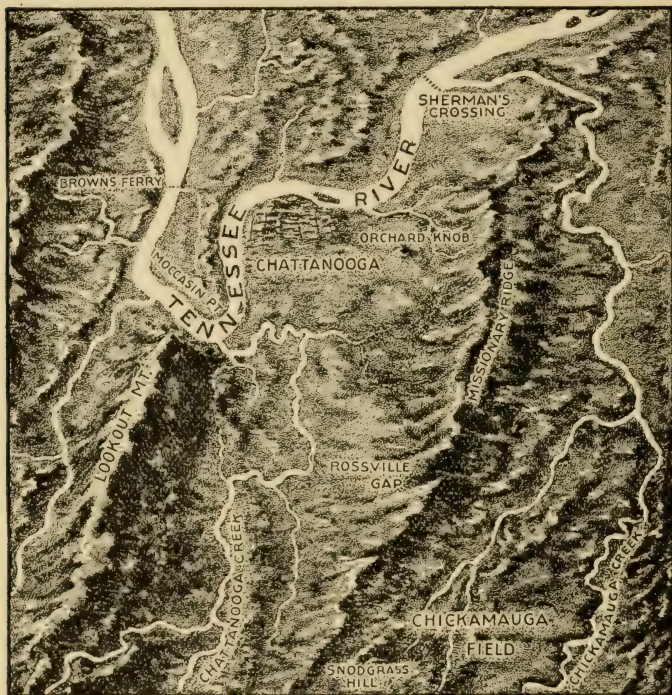
WITH ROSECRANS, THOMAS, AND GRANT

538. Rosecrans Enters Chattanooga.—All during the winter and spring following Murfreesboro, Rosecrans's army lay encamped on the field so bravely won, while Bragg's southern army still camped in Tennessee. Finally, June 24, Rosecrans began the forward movement, which later led to that brilliant campaign in the center in which were engaged the four great generals—Grant, the hero of the victories in Mississippi; Sherman, who had so ably assisted in these victories; Sheridan, the brilliant cavalry officer; and Thomas, whose unflinching courage and endurance soon made him one of the chief commanders in the army of the center.

By September, Rosecrans "had skillfully manoeuvred Bragg south of the Tennessee River, and through and beyond Chattanooga," and had himself taken possession of that city.

539. Battle of Chickamauga—September 19-20.—When Bragg passed through the gaps of Missionary Ridge in his flight from Chattanooga, Rosecrans pushed on to overtake him; but, learning that the confederate army was concentrating in northwestern Georgia, Rosecrans gave up the chase. Bragg was reinforced and now took the initiative. On September 18, the two armies faced each other in order of battle along the banks of Chickamauga Creek, a

few miles southeast of Chattanooga. Here on September 19 and 20 one of the bloodiest battles of the war was fought. All day long the union army resisted the fierce attacks of the southern columns—charges and counter-charges were



CHICKAMAUGA AND LOOKOUT MOUNTAIN

made—and at nightfall of the 19th, the confederates had failed to gain the road to Chattanooga, but they held many of their positions and were ready to renew the battle the next day. The battle opened on the 20th with an attack upon the union left. Five union brigades were swept from the field and others were caught in the mad rush toward Chattanooga. On swept the confederate troops, until they

faced the new union line on the wooded crest of Snodgrass Hill. Here from three o'clock in the afternoon until night put an end to the struggle, the indomitable Thomas held his ground, attacked on flank and front. Up the slope of the hill charged the confederates, giving the southern yell—only to be mowed down with frightful slaughter. Again and again they charged, but Thomas, christened on that day as "The Rock of Chickamauga," stood his ground and at night withdrew toward Chattanooga. Seldom has history recorded a more gallant defence than that made by Thomas and his brave troops at Chickamauga.

540. After the Battle of Chickamauga.—Bragg, at once proceeded to shut up the union army in Chattanooga. This city lies on the south bank of the Tennessee River at the northern end of a narrow valley, through which runs Chattanooga Creek. The valley is bounded on the east by Missionary Ridge and on the west by Lookout Mountain, rising abruptly from the river, which flows south from the city and at the foot of this mountain makes a sharp turn to the north again. Bragg's troops were stationed along the crest and slope of Missionary Ridge for some miles to the south, thence west across Chattanooga valley to Lookout Mountain, which they held and fortified. Confederate pickets along the river guarded the road over which supplies could most easily be brought to the city. All railroad communication had been cut off and the union men were on half rations.

541. Grant Assumes Command.—But all was soon to change. General Rosecrans was removed and General Thomas put in his place. General Grant was summoned to Chattanooga to take command of the department of the Mississippi. Sherman and many of the troops from Vicksburg were hastening to the relief, and General Hooker had been sent with troops from the army of the Potomac. Grant's first care upon his arrival was to bridge the Tennessee River and bring in an abundant supply of food and ammunition. Burnside was hastening southward through eastern Tennes-

see and Bragg made his fatal mistake of sending 20,000 troops under his able corps commander, Longstreet, to Knoxville to capture Burnside. Reinforcements having arrived, Grant decided to attack. With the booming of cannon on the afternoon of October 23, Thomas's troops made a dashing charge on the confederate fortifications in the valley, and the union line was advanced about a mile.

542. Battle of Lookout Mountain—November 24.—In the early morning of the 24th, General Hooker advanced to drive the confederates from their position on Lookout Mountain. The pickets were taken and the gallant Hooker,—while a heavy mist enveloped the mountain,—led his troops up the steep and wooded western slopes. Only the incessant rattle of musketry told Grant, at his position on Orchard Knob, that the battle—this famous “Battle above the Clouds”—was raging. The confederates evacuated during the night, and the morning's sun greeted the flag of the union on the crest of Lookout Mountain. Sherman, under cover of the mist, had gained the north base of Missionary Ridge, and the confederate attack was not able to dislodge him.

543. Battle of Missionary Ridge—November 25.—On the morning of the 25th, Bragg's forces were massed on Missionary Ridge, with a strongly intrenched line on the crest, another midway up the slope, and a third at the base. General Grant had planned for Hooker to attack the confederate left while Sherman pressed on from his position on the right. But the southern army, retreating across the valley from Lookout Mountain, had burned the bridges across the creek and it was late in the afternoon before Hooker could reach the Ridge. Sherman attacked early in the morning and by three o'clock was so hard pressed that Grant gave the signal for an attack by Thomas's brave troops. Advancing at double quick, Thomas's men carried the rifle pits and union and confederate troops went over the first line of defences almost at the same time. There was no halting, no waiting

for further orders, no re-forming of lines, but up the steep slope, covered with fallen timber and boulders, Thomas's troops advanced,—the second line of works was carried,—and on they swept to the crest. The crest was gained and the cannon turned upon the retreating, panic-stricken confederate troops, thousands of whom threw away their arms in their mad flight, and many were taken prisoners. By night Bragg's demoralized army was in full retreat and Grant had opened another gateway to the south.

544. Burnside at Knoxville.—Meanwhile Burnside had taken possession of Knoxville, and Longstreet had made an unsuccessful attack upon the town. When the news reached him of Bragg's disaster, Longstreet immediately abandoned the siege and on the night of December 4 hastened northward to rejoin Lee. Eastern Tennessee was saved, and the president's anxiety for the loyal people of this state was removed.

IN THE EAST

THE IRONCLADS FAIL AT CHARLESTON

545. Battle of Charleston Harbor—April 7.—After the victory of the Monitor at Hampton Roads, it was believed in the north that a fleet of monitors would be able to accomplish the reduction of all the confederate fortifications along the entire Atlantic and Gulf coast. Such a fleet was accordingly constructed, and, on April 7, 1863, Admiral Dupont steamed into Charleston harbor, South Carolina, for the purpose of capturing Charleston—one of the most important coast points in possession of the confederacy. The action opened at three o'clock in the afternoon, and the fleet was soon under the fire of seventy-six of the best guns in possession of the confederacy—all of them well mounted and skillfully handled. When the fleet withdrew, every vessel had been fearfully battered, and some of the boats completely disabled. The news of the defeat of these ironclads could hardly be believed at the north, and the greatest disappointment followed,

while a new impetus was given to blockade running in the south.

HOOKER AND CHANCELLORSVILLE

546. Battle of Chancellorsville—May 2 and 3.—After Fredericksburg, the army of the Potomac remained inactive across the Rappahannock from the point where Burnside had met such a bloody repulse. General Hooker had succeeded Burnside in January and by the last of April was ready to take the field. With more than 100,000 men at his command he felt sure of his ability to crush the confederate army. He accordingly moved up the Rappahannock, crossed that stream, with about 60,000 troops, and by the first of May had his army in position at Chancellorsville, ten miles from Fredericksburg. Jackson at once, following his favorite movement, marched around Hooker's army and attacked it in the rear so unexpectedly that an entire division was rolled back upon the main body of the army, which the impetuous charges of Jackson now threatened with disaster. Hooker had been completely surprised; only night saved the union army from utter rout. Lee, on the following day, fought the union army in detail, defeating it, a division at a time, though he met with stubborn resistance. At night Hooker gave up the useless and bloody struggle, and on the following day withdrew under cover of a storm, to his old position across the Rappahannock, to suffer censure and blame for his mismanagement.

547. Effect of Chancellorsville.—Again the north was filled with gloom. Two years and more of war had passed, marked by a long list of disasters in the east. The soldiers in the army of the Potomac were just as brave and fought as valiantly as did Lee's and Jackson's men; indeed, no braver soldiers ever lived. "Why was it," the public press now asked, the people asked, and Lincoln asked, "that a leader could not be found to lead this splendid northern army successfully against the southern foe?"

Bitter were the complaints in congress and in the country. Yet, amidst all this disappointment and this night of gloom, a lofty patriotism sustained the north, which still hoped on,—confident that right would win, that the union would survive, and, now that the great Lincoln had spoken out on New Year's Day for human freedom, that slavery and disunion would perish together. The tide of war was soon to turn, though anxious days were still in store, indeed, had come,—for Lee, emboldened by Fredericksburg and Chancellorsville, once more flew northward, spurred on by the cry, now ringing forth from southern camps, of ‘On to Washington.’”

ON TO WASHINGTON

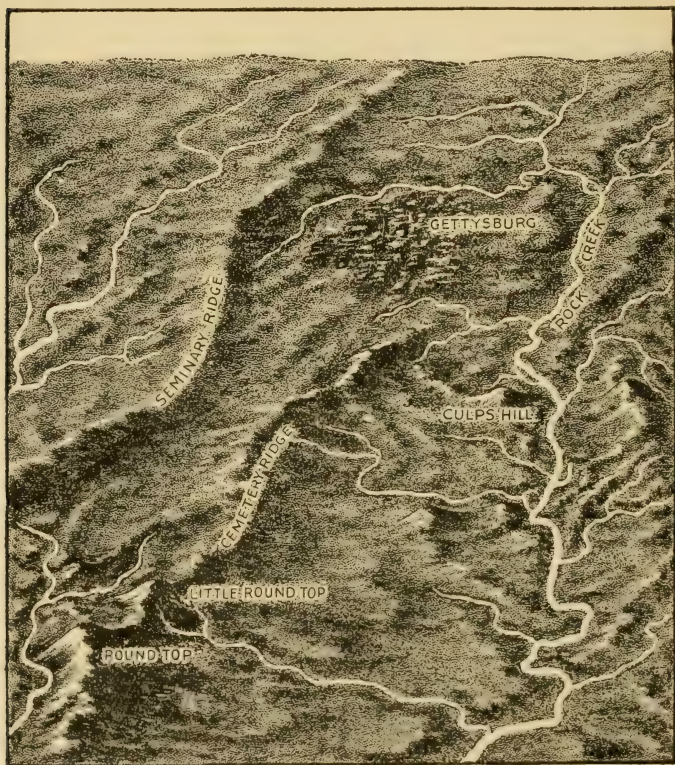
548. Lee's Second Invasion of the North.—Lee broke camp in the early part of June and started on his second invasion of the north. His plan was to pass northward, east of the range of the Blue Ridge, cross into Maryland, and carry his troops forward to the fertile valleys in Pennsylvania, where he expected to find rich plunder and much-needed supplies—it being the harvest time. He hoped to draw after him Hooker's entire army, defeat it on the free soil of the north, then march on Baltimore—perhaps the national capital itself. No sooner had Lee crossed the mountains, than Hooker gave chase. Lee, crossing the Potomac at Williamsport and Shepherdstown, passed through Maryland, and was soon encamped at Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. He sent detachments out to capture Carlisle, and extort \$100,000 tribute from the city of York. His cavalry in the meantime—10,000 strong—charged across the country, laying it waste in every direction.

549. Meade Succeeds Hooker in Command.—Hooker had all the while been conducting a most admirable advance. But after his defeat at Chancellorsville, he had become so embittered against General-in-Chief Halleck that he complained to Lincoln of that general's unkind treatment. Irritated by

Halleck, he resigned his command in the face of the enemy, and retired from the army of the Potomac forever. General George G. Meade was promptly appointed in his stead. He at once assumed command and pushed rapidly forward in quest of Lee.

GETTYSBURG

550. The First Day's Battle of Gettysburg—July 1.—The advance forces of the two armies met unexpectedly on the morning of July 1, in the vicinity of the little village of Gettysburg, and a hard fought battle ensued. In this bat-



GETTYSBURG AND VICINITY

tle General Reynolds lost his life, and the union troops were forced to withdraw south of the city to Cemetery Ridge,—a hook-shaped hill about three miles in length. At its southern extremity is Round Top, a mound about four hundred feet high commanding the valley to the west. A little to the north of this, on the crest of the hill, is Little Round Top,—also commanding the valley to the west. From this point the ridge runs northward toward the town, then turns to the east, completing the hook and terminating abruptly in Culp's Hill, which commands the valley to the north and east. It was to this ridge that Reynold's troops had retired after the death of that officer. General Hancock soon arrived upon the field, and recognized the importance of holding Cemetery Ridge as a vantage position to the union army. During all that night, Meade's hosts were pushed rapidly forward to this position, and when day broke on July 2, the morning sun shone upon the union army intrenched on Cemetery Ridge, 80,000 strong, eager and ready for battle. Across the valley to the west, was Seminary Ridge, upon which Lee had gathered his forces during the night—also about 80,000 strong and as eager for the contest as was the army of the Potomac.

551. The Second Day's Battle—July 2.—Little Round Top was the key to the union position, and this Lee resolved to take by assault. At four o'clock in the afternoon of July 2, a confederate force advanced up the hill under the enthusiasm of the southern yell, and furiously fell upon General Sickles's men, and a two hours' bloody battle ensued. While this battle was on, a confederate force swept up the hill to Little Round Top. A hand-to-hand encounter followed, in which prodigies of valor were displayed on both sides, the confederate force finally yielding and retreating down the slope, leaving their dead and wounded scattered upon the field. At ten o'clock at night, the second day's battle ceased, and the soldiers slept upon their arms.

552. The Third Day's Battle—July 3.—The struggle was

reopened at noon on July 3 by an artillery battle. At the end of two hours, the confederate batteries suddenly ceased firing. A moment of ominous stillness fell upon both armies. When the smoke lifted, a large confederate force under Pickett, one of Lee's ablest generals, was seen advancing across the valley in battle array. Lee had planned to carry the union position at the point of the bayonet! On came Pickett's men, charging up the slope of Cemetery Ridge, exciting the admiration of the union army all along the battle line. The union artillery hailed shot and shell upon this advancing host. Men were literally mowed down in windrows, but their places quickly filled. Up, up came Pickett's men to the very muzzles of the union guns! There they were hurled back and rushed madly, wildly, down the slope, their lines broken and shattered, and now in utter rout. The invincible army of the south had been broken like a reed. Meade had won the day at Gettysburg!

553. Situation at the Close of the Year 1863.—Gettysburg was the turning point of the war. At the very moment Pickett's men were meeting their bloody repulse on the slope of Cemetery Ridge, Pemberton was flying the white flag above his fortifications at Vicksburg. On July 5 Lee gathered together his now shattered and crippled army, and retreated down the passes of the Blue Ridge through the Shenandoah valley, to his old camping ground in Virginia, across the Rappahannock. Meade gave chase, but slowly. In a few weeks he, too, arrived on the soil of Virginia, and encamped across the river from Lee's position. Here the two armies remained, watching one another, cautiously seeking an opportunity to strike. Efforts failing, both armies went into winter quarters, and practically remained inactive until the following spring. Thus, at the close of the year, Lee's invasion had been repelled, the Mississippi was opened and patrolled by union gunboats, the blockade of the southern ports was more effective than ever,

and the strong position of Chattanooga was securely held by the union army.

IMPORTANT BATTLES OF 1863

NAME OF BATTLE	Place Where Fought	Date	Commanding General of Union Army	Commanding General of Confederate Army
Chancellorsville	Chancellorsville, Va.	May 2-3	Maj.-Gen. J. Hooker	Gen. R. E. Lee
Gettysburg . . .	Gettysburg, Pa.	July 1-3. . .	Maj.-Gen. G. G. Meade	Gen. R. E. Lee
Vicksburg . . .	Vicksburg, Miss.	July 4'	Maj.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Lieut.-Gen. J. C. Pemberton
Port Hudson .	Port Hudson, La.	July 8	Maj.-Gen. N. P. Banks	Maj.-Gen. F. Gardner
Chickamauga .	Chickamauga, Ga.	Sept. 19-20.	Maj.-Gen. W. S. Rosecrans	Gen. B. Bragg
Chattanooga .	Chattanooga, Tenn.	Nov. 23-25 ..	Maj.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. B. Bragg
Knoxville . . .	Knoxville, Tenn.	Dec. 4. . . .	Maj.-Gen. A. E. Burnside	Lieut.-Gen. J. Longstreet

THE YEAR 1864

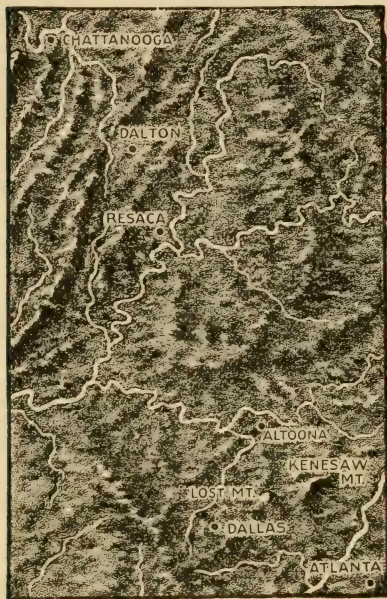
554. Plan of Operations for 1864.—One day in the spring of 1864, two men met in conference in the parlor of a prominent hotel in Cincinnati. Spread out on a table before them lay some especially prepared military maps, which both were eagerly scanning. Before the meeting ended, the two parties to this conference had decided upon the plan of operations for the union armies in 1864. These two men were union generals,—one of them, General Ulysses S. Grant, the other, General William T. Sherman. Grant, with the army of the Potomac, was to capture Lee's army; while Sherman was to carry the ravages of war into the heart of the confederacy, capture Johnston's army, touch at some point upon the Atlantic coast, and then march northward to intercept Lee, should he attempt to escape from Grant at Richmond.

IN THE CENTER

WITH SHERMAN TO THE SEA

555. Sherman's Campaign against Atlanta—May 5 to September 2.—When Sherman parted with his superior in Cincinnati, he hastened south, determined to move as soon as

possible to the accomplishment of his part of this gigantic campaign. General Joseph E. Johnston was in command of the southern army in Georgia. On the 5th of May, the same day that Grant moved to begin his part of the campaign, Sherman started south with his force of 100,000 men, to attack Johnston, who was fortified at Dalton, in northern



CHATTANOOGA TO ATLANTA

Georgia. Now began a series of brilliant engagements, in which Sherman by his favorite flank movement caused Johnston to fall back from one position to another, until, by the latter part of July, the confederates had been driven within the intrenchments at Atlanta. At Dalton, Resaca, Altoona, Dallas, Kenesaw and Lost mountains, and many other places, the union forces had been successful, but they had met with

stubborn resistance, and now at Atlanta a siege was to be kept up for more than a month. Tired of Johnston's policy of retreating, Jefferson Davis removed him from command, and put General John B. Hood in charge of the confederate forces at that point.

556. Sherman Enters Atlanta—September 2.—This change in command in the confederate army meant a change of policy. General Hood soon made a furious charge (July 20) upon the union army, but after an hour's engagement was

severely repulsed, and forced to fall back within his lines. Two days later, he attacked a second time, but was again driven back into the city, after suffering the loss of about 10,000 of his men. Sherman now prepared to cut off Hood's communications, by marching around Atlanta, capturing its railroads on the east and south, and then taking the city from the rear. But, on September 2, Hood evacuated the city and fled, and the federal army at once took possession.

557. Hood Turns Northward — Battle of Nashville — December 15 and 16.—On evacuating Atlanta, Hood first marched to the southwest, then boldly turned northward, threatening Sherman's line of communication. After destroying about twenty miles of the Chattanooga and Atlanta railroad,—the only route over which supplies could reach Sherman,—Hood passed into northern Alabama, with the evident intention of invading Tennessee and thus drawing Sherman after him. Sherman at once dispatched General Thomas to Nashville with a large body of troops to intercept Hood. Thomas arrived none too soon, for about the middle



of November Hood crossed the Tennessee River and eagerly began his northward march. At Columbia, a skirmish took place between Hood's army and a detachment of Thomas's force. On the last day of November, a desperate and sanguinary battle ensued at Franklin, where Hood's army was badly shattered. Urged on as if by some relentless fate, Hood reached Nashville and formed his line of battle in front of the intrenchments of the ever cautious but invincible Thomas. As time went by and Thomas did not attack Hood, the whole country became alarmed. But Thomas had the courage to wait until he felt prepared to attack; and the result of the battle fought on December 15 and 16 was

his justification for his delay. When Thomas burst upon Hood's soldiers, they fled in utter rout, leaving on the field their dead and wounded, their artillery and their arms. So complete was the destruction of Hood's army that never again was it successfully reorganized.

558. From Atlanta to the Sea—November 15 to December 22.—When Hood turned northward, Sherman planned to march forth into the very heart of the confederacy, live upon the country, reach and take some seacoast city, then turn northward and join Grant in the vicinity of Richmond. After resting his troops, Sherman was ready to advance. He destroyed the railroad connecting Atlanta with Chattanooga, applied the torch to all public buildings in Atlanta, cut the telegraph wires, and with his magnificent army of 60,000 as well trained and as intelligent men "as ever trod the earth," swung off (November 15) on his famous march from Atlanta to the sea. The army marched in four parallel columns, but a few miles apart, advancing about fifteen miles a day. Each brigade detailed a certain number of men to gather supplies of forage and provisions. Starting off on foot in the morning these foragers would return in the evening mounted on ponies or mules, or driving a family carriage loaded outside and in, with everything the country afforded. Railroads were torn up, and the rails heated and twisted; bridges were burned; and the fertile country for thirty miles on either side of the line of march was laid waste. Georgia's soldiers were in the north, so this army met with little resistance. When next the north heard from Sherman, he was in front of Savannah. Savannah was evacuated and Sherman entered on December 22. The confederacy had again been cut in twain. Georgia, with her arsenals, and factories, had been the workshop of the south. Sherman had followed the confederates to their "inmost recesses," and had shown to the world how feeble was their power, how rapidly their doom was approaching.

WITH FARRAGUT AT MOBILE BAY

559. Farragut Enters Mobile Bay—August 5.—Mobile was the stronghold of the confederacy on the gulf. Two strong forts on low-lying sandpoints guarded the entrance to the bay, thirty miles below the city. Within the harbor lay a confederate fleet, and among its vessels the monster ironclad ram, Tennessee. Farragut, the hero of New Orleans, determined to force an entrance to this bay. About six o'clock on the morning of August 5, he advanced to the attack. Soon one of his leading vessels was sunk by the explosion of a torpedo, but Farragut, lashed to the rigging of his flagship Hartford, boldly took the lead and passed through the torpedo line followed by his fleet. The forts were soon safely passed. In the engagement with the confederate fleet, two of their vessels were captured, and the powerful ironclad Tennessee was so badly disabled that, after an engagement of an hour and a quarter, she ran up the white flag. A few days after, the forts at the entrance to the harbor surrendered, but the city itself remained in the possession of the confederates until the following year.

THE ALABAMA

560. England and the Confederate Cruisers.—During the war the English authorities connived at the building of confederate cruisers in English dockyards. Notwithstanding the protest of the American government, these privateers were permitted to leave English ports to prey upon the commerce of the United States. There were six or eight of these cruisers, which constantly harrassed American commerce. The Shenandoah is said to have destroyed or captured more than \$6,000,000 worth of American property on the high seas. It was the custom of these cruisers to avoid encounter with American men-of-war, but to assail, wherever and whenever they could, American merchantmen. Millions of dollars worth of property was thus taken or destroyed by these English built cruisers, and American

commerce practically driven from the seas. The attitude of the English authorities in thus extending sympathy and aid to the southern rebellion created the most hostile feeling in the United States against England.

561. The Kearsarge and the Alabama.—The most famous of all these cruisers was the Alabama, under Captain Raphael Semmes, who before the rebellion was an officer in the United States navy. Semmes was the most daring of all the confederate sea-rovers. He at first commanded the Sumter, and later became commander of the Alabama. When that cruiser was building at Liverpool, Charles Francis Adams, minister to England, had protested against its leaving British waters, but in spite of this protest, the Alabama was permitted to slip away to the Azore Islands, where Semmes and a confederate crew were in waiting to receive her. She destroyed American commerce right and left, taking millions of dollars worth of American prizes. On the 19th of June, 1864, the Alabama was encountered by the United States steamer Kearsarge, under command of Captain John A. Winslow, off the coast of Cherbourg, France. After an hour's engagement the Alabama was so disabled that she ran up the white flag and soon afterward sank.

IN THE EAST

FROM THE RAPIDAN TO THE JAMES

562. Grant's Plan.—Grant was now in command of all the union forces under arms on the continent. He took up his headquarters with the army of the Potomac, and a little after midnight of the 4th of May, 1864, set that army of 120,000 men in motion across the Rapidan. He then sent a telegram to Sherman to start from Chattanooga, and carry out his part of the plan agreed upon at the Cincinnati conference and another telegram to Butler at Fortress Monroe to move up the James River to City Point below Richmond, and hold that as a base of supplies in anticipation of Grant's reaching the James with the army of the Potomac.

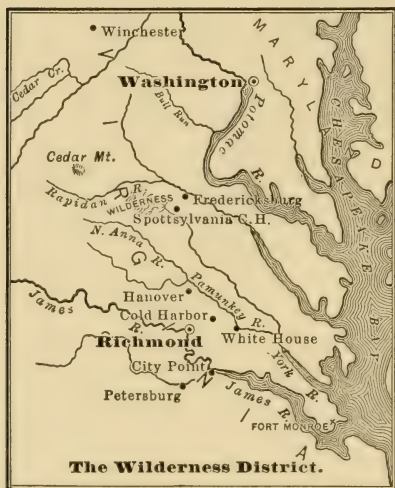
Grant's plan was to begin a forward movement of all these armies, with a view to pounding the confederate armies until they surrendered or the confederacy went to pieces. After the first battle across the Rapidan, Lee remarked, "The army of the Potomac at last has a general who will not retreat."

563. Battle of the Wilderness—May 5 and 6.—Grant had no sooner crossed the Rapidan and moved down toward the region where Hooker had met with such a severe repulse at Chancellorsville, than Lee fell furiously upon the army of the Potomac, determined to drive it back across the river. In the two days' bloody battle which followed (May 5 and 6), Grant himself says no greater fighting was ever witnessed on the continent. The battle took place in what is known as "The Wilderness"—a wild lonely region, where the country for miles around is covered with a dense growth of cedar and scrub oak so closely compacted as to prevent the free and easy movement of troops. At the end of the two days' struggle, Lee retired to his intrenchments, and Grant, content to leave him there, began his famous series of movements "by the left flank" with a view to forcing his army in between Lee and his communication at Richmond. Lee, detecting his movement, hastily forsook his intrenchments, and being perfectly familiar with the geography of The Wilderness, soon planted himself squarely in front of Grant's line at Spottsylvania Courthouse.

564. The Battle of Spottsylvania Courthouse—May 9-12.—Here for three days a furious battle raged in a country as wild as that in which the army had fought so desperately on the 5th and 6th of May. The battle ended at nightfall on the 12th of May, Lee falling back to a new position on the following morning. For eight days—from May 5 to 12—the two armies had been constantly under fire, and all the while Grant steadily pressing nearer Richmond. "The men toiled all day at the work of slaughter, lay down to sleep at night, and rose to resume the bloody labor in the morning,

as men do in the ordinary peaceful business of life." The dead and wounded on both sides numbered into the thousands, and the ambulance train carrying the dying and wounded loyal soldiers of the north, made one long continuous line from Spottsylvania to Washington.

565. North Anna—May 23-25: Cold Harbor—June 3.—At Spottsylvania, Grant rested a week on account of the rains. On the 19th of May, he moved toward the North Anna



River, and in crossing it divided his army into two divisions. Lee at once saw his advantage and forced the confederate army between the now divided union forces. Several encounters (May 23-25) between the contending forces convinced Grant that it would be the part of wisdom to withdraw north of the stream. This he at once did, but he was no sooner across than he marched southeasterly along the

course of the North Anna to its junction with the Pamunkey River. He successfully crossed the latter stream in the vicinity of Hanover, and at once pushed forward in a southeasterly direction to Cold Harbor, ten miles from Richmond. Here he again found Lee strongly intrenched. On the morning of June 3, Grant gave battle, but he met with a bloody repulse, his loss in killed and wounded amounting to more than 5,000 men.

566. Change of Base from the York to the James River.—Grant now gave up all hope of immediately taking Richmond, and resolved to change his base from White House on

the Pamunkey River to City Point on the James—a similar movement to the one accomplished by McClellan in 1862. While this movement was in progress under the direction of a part of his army and the navy, Grant lay in front of the intrenchments at Cold Harbor, and for ten days put forth every effort to induce Lee to come out and fight him in the open. Failing in this, he resumed his southward march, reaching the James River on the 14th of June.

567. The Race for Petersburg.—Now began a race between the two armies for the possession of Petersburg,—a point twenty miles south of Richmond, and an important railroad center connecting with the confederate capital. Before the union soldiers attacked, Petersburg was strongly reinforced by Lee, who now took personal command of the defence of that city. An attempt was made by Meade on the 18th of June to carry the confederate works by assault, but Meade was repulsed with great loss of life. Grant, anxious to save the lives of his men, finally resolved on taking Petersburg by siege, thereby repeating the scenes so familiar to him at the siege of Vicksburg.

IN THE SHENANDOAH VALLEY WITH SHERIDAN

568. Early's Raids.—In the latter part of June, Lee, hoping to draw off some of Grant's troops from the vicinity of Richmond, sent General Jubal A. Early northward to threaten Washington. On the 11th of July, Early arrived before that city, but delayed his attack until the following day. That night reinforcements came from Grant and the city was saved. Early retired, but in the latter part of July he again flew north—this time into the Shenandoah valley. He drove the union forces from that valley and swept across the Potomac into Maryland,—a portion of his force advancing as far north as Chambersburg, Pennsylvania. The Shenandoah valley was a rich field for foraging, and since 1862 had been the scene of constant raids on the part of the confederates. Grant, weary of annoyance from

that quarter, sent Sheridan with an army in quest of Early. Sheridan soon appeared upon the scene and during the month of September, destroyed or captured one half of Early's army. Sheridan, acting under orders from Grant, now proceeded to lay waste this splendid agricultural valley from its source northward to the Potomac River, in order that it could be no more used by confederate raiders as a base of operations against Washington. So effectually was Sheridan's work done that it was said at the time that even a crow could not subsist in the Shenandoah valley without carrying his rations with him. Unaware of this complete devastation, Early once more made a raid northward into the valley for the purpose of securing needed forage for Lee's army at Richmond.

569. The Battle of Winchester—October 19.—On his arrival in the valley, Early learned that the union army was encamped at Cedar Creek in the northern end of the valley. On the night of the 18th of October, he succeeded in creeping around this army, and, at early dawn of the morning of the 19th, fell upon Sheridan's troops, taking them completely by surprise. General Wright, the commanding officer on the ground, unable to stop the panic which ensued, ordered a retreat to Winchester—twenty miles away. Sheridan, at the time the battle began, was at Winchester. Having learned of Early's return to the valley, he fully suspected what was the cause of the cannonading in the direction of Cedar Creek. Hastily calling for his horse, he mounted and was off at full speed on that famous ride told so thrillingly in verse by Thomas Buchanan Read in his poem, "Sheridan's Ride." A little before the hour of noon Sheridan arrived upon the scene, his steed white with foam. As he faced his straggling troops he rose in his stirrups with the greeting—"Turn, boys, turn; we're going back!" His presence acted like magic upon his troops—the lines were instantly re-formed, and awaited Early's attack. Under the personal leadership of Sheridan, his troops were

invincible. Early was repulsed with such spirit that nearly the whole of his army was destroyed. Never again did the confederates attempt to renew the war in the Shenandoah valley.

THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR

570. The Situation at the close of the year 1864 showed that the confederacy was fast going to pieces. Grant still kept up his siege at Petersburg, drawing the line tighter and tighter. Sheridan had destroyed Early's army and laid waste the valley of the Shenandoah. Thomas had broken Hood's army at Nashville. Sherman was encamped at Savannah after having cut the confederacy in twain a second time. The Alabama, the last of the formidable confederate cruisers, had ended her career of destruction and American commerce could once more feel free on the high seas. The great and powerful north was still as vigorous as ever, and its armies were now being led by some of the greatest generals the world had ever known. The confederacy, now twice severed, with all communication with the outside world cut off, was practically starving to death. The end of the great rebellion was near at hand.

IMPORTANT BATTLES OF 1864

NAME OF BATTLE	Place Where Fought	Date	Commanding General of Union Army	Commanding General of Confederate Army
Wilderness ...	Wilderness, Va.	May 5-6....	Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. R. E. Lee
Resaca	Resaca, Ga.	May 14-15..	Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman	Gen. J. E. Johnston
Cold Harbor ...	Cold Harbor, Va.	June 3.....	Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. R. E. Lee
Atlanta	Atlanta, Ga.	July 22.....	Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman	Gen. J. E. Johnston
Petersburg...	Petersburg, Va.	July 30....	Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. R. E. Lee
Mobile Bay ...	Mobile, Ala.	Aug. 5	Rear-Admiral D. G. Farragut	Admiral F. Buchanan
Winchester...	Winchester, Va.	Oct. 19.....	Maj.-Gen. P. H. Sheridan	Lieut.-Gen. J. A. Early
Cedar Creek ..	Cedar Creek, Va.	Oct. 19.....	Maj.-Gen. P. H. Sheridan	Lieut.-Gen. J. A. Early
Nashville	Nashville, Tenn.	Dec. 15	Maj.-Gen. G. H. Thomas	Gen. J. B. Hood

THE YEAR 1865

THE END OF THE WAR

571. Plan of Operations for 1865.—After having thrown his army almost completely around Petersburg, Grant was content to let the siege drag along, awaiting the result of Sherman's march through Georgia, and Sheridan's campaign in the Shenandoah valley. As the winter wore away, the confederate prospects became more and more desperate, Lee himself acknowledging that the rebellion was at the end of its tether. As the year 1865 opened, Grant recalled Sheridan from the Shenandoah valley, to move with his cavalry in and around Richmond, cutting the railroads and destroying supplies. He now planned two campaigns: (1) He directed Sherman to move northward through the Carolinas to the vicinity of Goldsboro, with a view of preventing reinforcements being sent to Lee, and also of preventing that general's escape, should he fly south; (2) Grant himself, with the army of the Potomac, now numbering 125,000 men, resolved on capturing both Petersburg and Richmond, and forcing the surrender of Lee's entire army.

NORTH AND SOUTH

572. Condition of the Confederacy.—The condition of the confederacy at this time was pitiable in the extreme. Its finances were in utter ruin; a billion dollars of debt had been incurred without prospect of paying a cent thereof; food products were scarce; the condition of the people in every locality as regards food supply was desperate. The army was on short rations—some days Lee's army being almost without food. The prices paid for food and clothing and all articles of merchandise were fabulous. The confederate army was being deserted at that time by the thousands. The age limits of service in the southern army were now placed from fourteen to sixty,—a fact which caused General Butler to remark that "the confederacy

was robbing both the cradle and the grave." The spirit which had kept the rebellion alive was rapidly disappearing. With starvation staring them in the face, many in both the army and the country were ready to give up the struggle.

573. Condition of the Union.—At no time since the beginning of the war did hopes run so high in the north; all felt that the end was in sight. While the draft had been resorted to in the north to force men into the union service, still the draft bill was of little value other than that it served to quicken the more honorable and loyal method of volunteer enlistment. Although Grant's losses in the campaign against Richmond had been enormous, yet his ranks were soon filled up, and the army of the Potomac at the beginning of 1865 was in reality one of the most formidable veteran armies ever gathered together in the world. There had been years of gloom and despondency, of fault-finding, of discontent; there had been times when the fate of the union hung in the balance; but all this was passed, and the whole people, now that they had time to reflect, began to realize that the nation owed its very life to the genius and lofty patriotism of the patient, kindly-natured, great-souled Lincoln. An effort had been put forth by the malcontents in November, 1864, to defeat his reelection, George B. McClellan being the candidate against him. But the loyal north flocked to the support of the administration, and Lincoln was reelected by the largest vote which a presidential candidate had up to that time received in the history of the republic.

574. Lincoln's Second Inaugural Address.—Once again, on the 4th of March, 1865, Lincoln stood on the east steps of the national capitol and delivered his inaugural address, closing with the memorable words, "Fondly do we hope—fervently do we pray—that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled up by

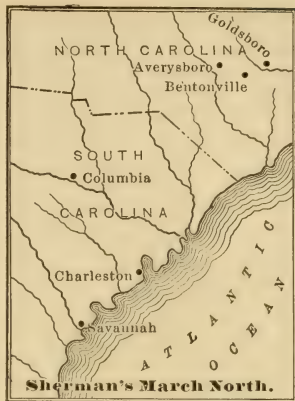
the bondman's two hundred fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid by another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, 'The judgments of God are true and righteous altogether.' With malice towards none; with charity for all; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive to finish the work we are in, to bind up the nation's wounds; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan—to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations."

SHERMAN'S LAST CAMPAIGN

575. Sherman Marches North.—After resting his troops at Savannah, Sherman, on the 1st day of February, resumed his march. He now turned northward, through the Carolinas, with Goldsboro, North Carolina, as his objective point. His purpose was to devastate those states, carry the hardships of war to the very door of their inhabitants, and destroy the southern railroads leading into Richmond,—thereby cutting off Lee's army from all chance of securing supplies from the south. He arrived at Columbia, the capitol of South Carolina, on the 17th of February, and found the city in flames. He at once directed his troops to assist in extinguishing the fire, but before the conflagration could be checked, all public buildings and workshops, and many large business blocks had been swept away. On February 18, Sherman received word that Charleston had been evacuated.

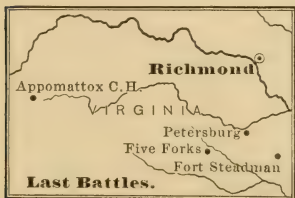
576. Johnston's Army Repulsed.—While encamped at Columbia, Sherman learned that Lee had sent a detachment of his troops south to check the union advance, and further, that General Joseph E. Johnston had been recalled to take command of these troops. He accordingly moved rapidly forward toward Goldsboro. On March 16, he came upon a

part of Johnston's army near Averysboro, and defeated it. On the 19th of March, he met Johnston's whole force at Bentonville, and the confederate army again went down to defeat. On the 23d of March, Sherman reached his objective point at Goldsboro, four hundred twenty-five miles from Savannah, where he was joined by reinforcements under General Schofield, sent in from the Atlantic coast by Grant.



GRANT'S LAST CAMPAIGN

577. Fort Steadman and Five Forks.—In the meantime Grant had been impatient to force the evacuation of the two besieged cities. By the last of March, he was ready for his final movement against the intrenchments at Petersburg. Meanwhile, Lee had been planning to escape, but before doing so he resolved to strike one blow, which he hoped would aid in his escape. Accordingly, on the 25th of March he assailed the union line at Fort Steadman, but in the attempt he signally failed, being repulsed with fearful loss. Sheridan a week later (April 1) advanced to Five Forks, in Lee's rear, south and west from Petersburg. Here Sheridan was furiously attacked, but after a hard-fought battle, he forced nearly five thousand hungry and starving confederate soldiers to lay down their arms and become prisoners of war.



578. Petersburg and Richmond Fall.—On the night of April 1, Grant issued the order and all the union batteries began a general bombardment of the confederate works. The heavy

cannonading was kept up until five o'clock on the morning of April 2, when Grant ordered a general assault upon the confederate left. The resistance was stubborn, but nothing could withstand the heroic charges of the union troops. Both Petersburg and Richmond were doomed to fall. Lee telegraphed from Petersburg to Jefferson Davis at Richmond that the two cities must be immediately evacuated. Davis received the dispatch while in his pew at church, and hastily flew south. He was afterward captured in Georgia and sent as a prisoner to Fortress Monroe, to be released on bail two years later, and, through northern leniency, never brought to trial. Lee, gathering together his now depleted army, sought safety in flight, hoping still to unite with Johnston's army and defeat Sherman's victorious western troops ere Grant could come to his assistance. The following day both Petersburg and Richmond were entered by the national troops.

579. Lee Surrenders at Appomattox—April 9.—Grant immediately ordered Sheridan to cut off Lee's retreat, and he himself followed close upon the heels of the confederate army. Much fighting was indulged in between the fleeing and the pursuing armies. Lee was finally brought to bay near Appomattox Courthouse, where, on the 9th of April, 1865, he surrendered his entire army as prisoners of war.

By the terms of the surrender, Lee's men were to lay down their arms and give their pledge that they would not serve against the national government until regularly exchanged. Officers were permitted to retain their side-arms, private horses, and baggage. Grant also agreed that all privates in the cavalry and artillery should be permitted to take home their own horses since they would "need them for the spring plowing." Lee feelingly spoke of the pitiable condition of his men, stating that they had been two days without food. Whereupon, the magnanimous Grant at once sent a large drove of oxen and a wagon-train of provisions, as a free will gift to the confederate soldiers.

Within a few days Johnston yielded to Sherman in North Carolina, and soon all organized resistance to the authority of the national government ceased. Secession had run its course; the war of the rebellion had reached its end!

IMPORTANT BATTLES OF 1865

NAME OF BATTLE	Place Where Fought	Date	Commanding General of Union Army	Commanding General of Confederate Army
Fort Fisher...	Fort Fisher, N.C.	Jan. 15.....	Maj.-Gen. A. H. Terry	Gen. B. Bragg
Mobile.....	Mobile, Ala.	March 17- April 12...	Maj.-Gen. E. R. Canby	Maj.-Gen. D. H. Maury
Bentonville...	Bentonville, N.C.	March 19-21	Maj.-Gen. W. T. Sherman	Gen. J. E. Johnston
Five Forks....	Five Forks, Va.	April 1.....	Maj.-Gen. P. H. Sheridan	Maj.-Gen. G. E. Pickett
Appomattox Campaign	Richmond, Va.	April 9.....	Lieut.-Gen. U. S. Grant	Gen. R. E. Lee

ASSASSINATION OF LINCOLN

580. After Appomattox.—Although the event had been anticipated, the news of Lee's surrender passed through the loyal states like an electric shock. The president issued a proclamation of thanksgiving, and the whole nation responded as with one voice. During all the trying period of the civil war, a statesman,—such as the nation had not known since the days of Washington,—had safely conducted the affairs of state through the most perilous crisis in the history of the republic. No greater American has yet lived than the tender-hearted, broad-gauged, generous Lincoln. His famous words, uttered in 1858, now seemed like prophecy—"a house divided against itself cannot stand. I believe that this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free; I do not expect the *union* to be dissolved; I do not expect the house to fall; but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

Now that the union had been restored, and the country had become "all free," thoughtful and anxious men in every section of the republic looked to the great Lincoln to point the way to the restoration of the southern states to their old

position in the union. He had been born in the south, and as an old-time Whig had associated much with southern leaders. He knew the temper of the southern people as no northern man could know it. On the afternoon of the 14th of April he dismissed his cabinet meeting with the words, "We must now begin to act in the interest of peace."

581. Death of Lincoln.—On that very night of the now historic 14th of April, 1865, the country was startled by a message flashed over the wires from Washington that President Lincoln, while in attendance upon a performance at Ford's theater, had been shot by John Wilkes Booth,—a brilliant, though dissolute actor of the national capital. The president was immediately removed from his box at the theater to a house across the street, where the whole nation anxiously awaited the verdict of the surgeons who had been summoned to his bedside. That verdict fell like a blow upon the country,—the wound was pronounced fatal! On the following day the president passed away, surrounded by members of his family, his cabinet, and many other anxious watchers. As the great Emancipator breathed his last the big-hearted secretary of war, Edwin M. Stanton, sobbed aloud, "Now he belongs to the ages". . . . "There lies the most perfect ruler of men the world has ever seen." This eloquent tribute of the great war secretary, spoken in tears at the bedside of his dead chief, is to-day the final verdict of mankind.

582. After Lincoln's Death.—This startling event came close upon the welcome news from Appomattox. National joy was thus suddenly changed to national sorrow. The whole nation mourned the loss of

The kindly—earnest, brave, foreseeing man,
Sagacious, patient, dreading praise, not blame.
New birth of our new soil, the first American.*

But the wretch who had committed the cowardly deed was not to escape punishment, for the nation

Wept with the passion of angry grief.*

* Lowell.

Booth fled, but was soon brought to bay in a barn, near an old farmhouse in Maryland, where, on refusing to surrender, he was not taken alive. A conspiracy was soon unearthed in Washington. On the night of the president's assassination an attempt was made upon the life of Secretary of State Seward, which was foiled by the vigorous action of Seward's son, who, in a hand-to-hand encounter, ejected from his father's sick chamber, one Payne, a self-confessed member of this band of conspirators. Payne and three others of the conspirators were afterwards hanged, while a few more who were found guilty on the charge of aiding the plot were imprisoned for life.

THE COST OF THE WAR

583. In Men and in Treasure.—During the war more than 2,200,000 men enlisted on the union side and half that number on the confederate side. Nearly 110,000 union soldiers and sailors were killed, or died from wounds received in battle. The total number of deaths from all causes amounted to more than 360,000 on the union side; to about 300,000 on the confederate. It will thus be seen that on both sides a total of 3,700,000 men were under arms on the continent within a period of four years,—from April, 1861, to April, 1865. Within that same four years 660,000 men laid down their lives in the camp or on the field of battle.

The total cost of the war to the national government was \$3,250,000,000. The cost of the war to the seceded states was at least \$1,750,000,000, making a total war expenditure in the four years of five billion dollars. In the last year of the war, the total amount appropriated by congress for the maintenance and support of the union army was \$516,214,131,—an average of nearly one and one-half million dollars per day.

584. The Finances of the War.—To raise the vast amount of money necessary to carry on the war, the national government resorted to two methods—taxation and loans. The war tar-

iffs, sometimes called the Morrill Tariffs, were first laid in 1861. Each succeeding session of congress, from 1862 to 1865, passed some amendment to the original bill. Congress also levied internal taxes,—upon incomes and salaries; upon trades and callings; upon nearly all home manufactures; and upon the gross receipts of railroad, steamboat, and express companies. A stamp-tax was also laid upon all legal and public documents. This system of direct and indirect taxes produced an annual revenue of about \$300,000,000.

This amount not being sufficient to meet the enormous expenses of the government, the secretary of the treasury now began to borrow money on the credit of the United States. For these loans government bonds were issued bearing interest at various rates and payable at the option of the government after a certain number of years. Treasury notes, too, were issued to the amount of nearly a half billion dollars. This paper money became known as the “green-back currency.” To aid the government in carrying on its financial operations, congress established and perfected the national banking system.

PROGRESS DURING THE WAR

585. Improvements in Arms.—The war called forth the inventive genius of the north. The improvements in fire arms, heavy cannon, explosives, torpedoes, and all that goes to make war terrible and frightful, marked an epoch in the manufacture of the implements and munitions of war. The success of the Monitor revolutionized the construction of the navies of the world. The practical application of the telegraph on the field of battle was demonstrated. The methods of feeding, clothing, and transporting large armies excited the admiration of the military experts sent from Europe to witness the progress of the war.

586. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions.—Through the loyal women of the north, the suffering and hardships of army life were lessened. Nurses were sent into every hos-

pital and army camp to look after the sick, and care for the wounded. The Sanitary Commission and the Christian Commission did a work unequaled by any similar body in the history of war. Nearly twenty million dollars were raised and expended, without waste, by these splendid organizations, which sent vast quantities of needed supplies to the army. Through their help thousands of soldiers were better fed and more warmly clothed. Delicate food was provided for the sick and ailing, and greater comforts placed in the army hospitals. Through the Christian Commission thousands of Bibles and large quantities of high-class literature were distributed among the soldiers. This commission in every way aided in securing and maintaining a high moral standard among the men who composed the armies of the republic. Nor was the work of these two commissions devoted solely to the armies in the field. The widow and the orphan were tenderly cared for and comforted.

587. Growth: New States.—While the south was devastated by the ravages of war, the progress of the northern states was steadily maintained. Two new states were admitted to the union,—West Virginia coming in in 1863 as the thirty-sixth state, and Nevada in 1864 as the thirty-seventh. It will thus be seen that the country grew in spite of the war. Lincoln recognized this on the very night of his second election, when the returns showed that the voting strength of the country in 1864 was greater than it was in 1860. During the decade in which the war occurred, the population of the country increased over seven million, and the total wealth of the country leaped from sixteen billions to more than thirty billions of dollars. Manufactures had thrived; internal commerce had prospered; the great west had steadily grown. War and national growth were carried on side by side. While granting appropriations to meet the expenses of the war, congress at the same time passed a liberal homestead act, and made large grants of land to the Union Pacific railroad,—which line was soon to join the

Atlantic to the Pacific and make it possible for one to ride from ocean to ocean across the continent.

THE UNION ARMY DISBANDS

588. The Grand Review at Washington.—When Lee surrendered, April 9, 1865, there were more than a million union soldiers under arms on the continent. Many Europeans predicted that the government could not peaceably disband such a large force of men. They urged that when the soldiers were once released from the restraint of army discipline, riot and bloodshed would follow in every section of the union. The people of the European countries, with their large standing armies, could not appreciate the difference between a standing army maintained by force of government, and a volunteer citizen soldiery maintained by patriotism. Europe's fears were altogether groundless. By November 1, 1865, fully 800,000 men had been mustered out of service, "without a fancy in any mind that there was anything else to do." However, "before the great army melted away into the greater body of citizens, the soldiers enjoyed one final triumph,—a march through the capital undisturbed by death or danger, under the eyes of the highest commanders, military and civilian, and the representatives of the people whose nationality they had saved."

For two whole days (May 23 and 24) the army of the Potomac, "which for four years had been the living bulwark of the national capital," and the army of the west, which had twice cut the confederacy in twain, marched in grand review along the full length of Pennsylvania Avenue,—the principal street of the national capital. On a platform in front of the White House stood Andrew Johnson,—made president by the sudden taking off of Lincoln,—and a large number of men prominent in army and public life, as well as many foreign representatives from the diplomatic corps. No mightier martial host was ever gathered together on the continent. These men within a few short months were to

be engaged in the peaceful walks of life—to take up life's struggle where they had left it off four years before. The memories of the war, however, were not to be forgotten but to be kept alive in the "camps of peace" of the Grand Army of the Republic, organized the very first year following the close of the war.

THE GRAND ARMY OF THE REPUBLIC

589. The Grand Army.—The motto of the Grand Army of the Republic is "Friendship, Charity, and Loyalty," and all that these words imply, toward the comrades in arms and their country which they saved. The first post of the Grand Army of the Republic was organized at Decatur, Illinois, by Major B. F. Stephenson, of the 14th Illinois infantry, April 6, 1866. All the posts in a state constitute a department. The first national convention met in Indianapolis, November 20, 1866, and perfected the national organization, afterward known as the National Encampment Grand Army of the Republic. All honorably discharged union sailors and soldiers of good moral character of the war are eligible to membership. The second meeting of the National Encampment was at Philadelphia in January, 1868, where General John A. Logan was elected commander-in-chief. He ordered May 30 to be observed as Memorial Day for the purpose of strewing with flowers the graves of comrades who died in defence of their country. Memorial Day, sometimes erroneously called "Decoration Day," is a legal holiday in many states. The rules and regulations of the Grand Army of the Republic expressly forbid the use of the organization for partisan purposes.

ASSOCIATED ORGANIZATIONS

590. The First Organization of Women for active coöperation with the Grand Army of the Republic was at Portland, Maine, in 1869. Various societies of women with patriotic objects perfected a state organization at Fitchburg, Massachu-

setts, in 1879, under the title Women's Relief Corps. All loyal women of good moral character are eligible to membership. The Ladies of the Grand Army of the Republic, organized in 1881, is composed only of women who are the wives, sisters, mothers or daughters of honorably discharged union soldiers, sailors, or marines who served in the war. Each has a local, a state, and a national organization. Their object is to assist the Grand Army of the Republic in its high and holy mission and encourage and sympathize with them in their noble work of charity; to extend needful aid to members in sickness and distress; to aid sick soldiers, sailors, and marines; to do all in their power to alleviate suffering. Other associated organizations of the Grand Army of the Republic, but not subordinate to it, are the Sons of Veterans, the Union Veteran Legion, Union Veterans' Union, Union Ex-prisoners of War Association, the Loyal Legion, and the Veterans' Rights Union. The veterans of the civil war are rapidly answering the last roll call. Soon taps will be sounded in every post hall in this land. History will record that no other organizations on earth can lay claim to such glorious and precious memories.

CHAPTER XIV

FROM JOHNSON TO HAYES

RECONSTRUCTION

1865-1877

JOHNSON'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1865-1869

591. Andrew Johnson, the seventeenth president of the United States, was the son of poor white people living in North Carolina. At four years of age he was an orphan; at ten he was apprenticed to a tailor. Being an ambitious boy, he learned to read with the help of one of the workmen. Writing, however, he did not yet aspire to, and it was not until after his marriage that he learned the art, his wife being his teacher. At sixteen he set up as a tailor on his own account. Settling in east Tennessee, he became the leader of the Tennessee Democrats, who opposed the rule of the slaveholding aristocracy of the state. In 1835 he was elected to the state legislature; in 1841 he became state senator; and in 1843, congressman, holding that office for ten years. He then became governor of Tennessee, serving two terms. In 1857 he was elected United States senator, and proved himself a bold and active enemy of slavery. In 1862 President Lincoln made him military governor of Tennessee; in 1864 the Republicans nominated him for vice-president, though he was still a Democrat, and in 1865 he became president.

Johnson was a man of lofty principles and pure morals, and had a strong and keen intellect. He was, however, obstinate, quick-tempered, and lacking in the essential element of tact. His character accounts for the difficulties he met while president.

After having been president he continued active in politics, and though several times defeated for office, became United States senator once more in 1875.

Johnson was born at Raleigh, North Carolina, December 29, 1808, and died near Carter's Station, Tennessee, July 29, 1875.

592. The Problems.—A prolonged war always leaves a country in a disorganized condition, especially in regard to its finances and its business life, and tends to breed corruption in public affairs. The war between the states had not only these effects, but one other result far different from these. It left the southern states ruined and conquered, without governments and without the materials from which to erect governments. It was impossible to turn the states over to those who had just been fighting against the union. If the fruits of the war were not to be lost, it was felt that the national government must take charge of these states for a time. But that, said many, was contrary to the fundamental idea of the union, that the states must manage their own affairs. In this difficulty, many people declared that the southern states no longer existed as states, but simply as territories of the United States; others asserted that they were still states, but without the rights and functions of states, and that the central government could impose conditions at their restoration. This last was the theory generally adopted. The process of restoring the seceded states to their old position was called reconstruction.

Then came other questions: On what terms should they come back? Should these terms be easy or harsh? Who had the right to dictate what they should be, the president or congress? Finally and most difficult and most important of all, what situation was the colored man to occupy?

593. Thirteenth Amendment.—In regard to the colored man, one point had been quickly settled. An amendment to the constitution had been proposed by congress in Feb-

ruary, 1865, abolishing slavery forever. So the colored man was not to be a slave. But was he to have privileges and powers such as the white man possessed? Was he to vote? Was he to hold office? Or was he to be kept in a condition of inferiority, though free?

594. Beginning of Reconstruction.—President Lincoln had early taken up the problem of reconstruction. He believed that the president could restore the states to the union without the interference of congress, and acted on that supposition. In December, 1863, he issued a proclamation granting pardon and restoring their property to those who gave up secession and swore to defend the constitution and all the laws and proclamations emancipating the slaves. Only the most prominent leaders were refused these conditions. Lincoln then said that when one-tenth of the qualified citizens who had voted in 1860 should take the oath, and set up state governments, the president would recognize these as the lawful governments of the states. Thus reconstruction would be achieved, and by the president alone. Under this plan Arkansas was reconstructed in 1863; and Louisiana and Tennessee in 1864. Congress, however, did not agree with the president that he had the power to reconstruct states. On the contrary, it claimed that power for itself. It therefore opposed his plans, and refused to admit senators and representatives from the newly-constituted states.

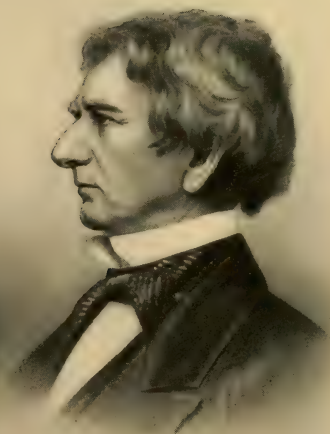
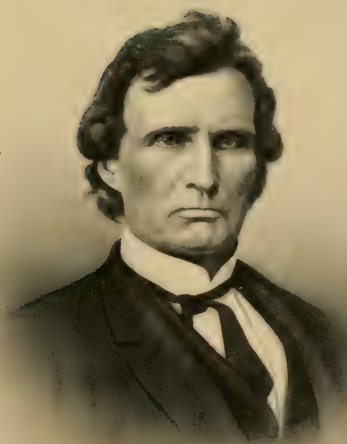
595. Johnson's Policy.—Naturally, Johnson adopted Lincoln's plans, and since congress was not in session when he became president, and would not be for eight months, he could do as he pleased for that period of time. He therefore issued a proclamation of pardon in May, 1865, very much like that issued by President Lincoln. The reconstructed states, however, must ratify the thirteenth amendment abolishing slavery. The conditions being accepted by the southern states, excepting only Texas, he proceeded in accordance with Lincoln's ideas, to reconstruct seven more states, Texas being the only one now left out. The acceptance of the

thirteenth amendment by these states made it part of the constitution, and it was declared in force December 18, 1865.

596. Legislation against the Freedmen.—Several of the southern states passed laws virtually restoring slavery. Thus, in Virginia, all persons who would not work for the wages commonly paid were declared vagrants, and could be forced to work; in Mississippi colored orphans and minors without means of support were to be hired out to masters until they became of age. This was slavery for that length of time. That there might be no mistaking the intention of the legislature, the master was given the right to whip the servant. Colored persons without employment were declared vagrants, and were to be arrested and fined. If unable to pay the fine, as they undoubtedly would be, they were to be hired out for a term of service. They were forbidden to carry arms or to preach the gospel without a license, and if they did so were fined. In South Carolina a similar code of laws was enacted, but additions were made to it—no freedman could have a trade or occupation other than agriculture or contract service without paying a special license of from \$10 to \$100.

597. The Congressional Theory.—Congress met in December, 1866. Most of the Republican members were strongly opposed to the president's reconstruction ideas. They were displeased, too, at the acts of the new southern legislatures. Were the southern states to be permitted to accept the thirteenth amendment, and then in mockery trample it under foot by making laws utterly nullifying its provisions? Assuredly not, replied the Republicans, who refused to recognize Johnson's work, and would not allow the senators and representatives from the southern states to take their seats.

Led by Representative Thaddeus Stevens of Pennsylvania, and Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, the radical Republicans began to prepare a reconstruction plan of their own. They made good their right to do so by declaring that



ANDREW JOHNSON
THADDEUS STEVENS

CHARLES SUMNER
WILLIAM H. SEWARD

RECONSTRUCTION LEADERS

the states out of the union were in the condition of territories, and so could be readmitted only by congressional action. Hence the president on his own authority had no power whatever to restore those states. Acting on this theory, the radical Republicans declared that the southern states should not be considered as in the union until congress assented.

598. The Freedmen's Bureau.—The Republicans then proceeded to thwart the nullifying laws passed by the southerners. The federal troops, which were still in the south, were ordered to stay there and protect the colored man in his new-found liberty. This was effective. Congress then, in February, 1866, passed a bill continuing the Freedmen's Bureau, which had been created in 1865 to take care of sick and helpless freedmen, and to render assistance of all kinds to the colored people. The president vetoed the bill. In July congress passed it again, and when the president again vetoed it, they passed it over his veto. This was a fatal blow to the president's reconstruction plans, for it proved that his opponents had possession of two-thirds of both houses and could always pass bills over the veto.

599. The Fourteenth Amendment.—Congress then cleared the way for its plan of reconstruction by passing a Civil Rights Bill, which gave the freedmen the same rights to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" which the whites possessed, but did not include political rights, such as the privilege of voting or holding office. The president vetoed the bill, declaring that it was unconstitutional. Congress immediately passed it over the veto. To avoid the objection of unconstitutionality, however, and to make certain that it should never be repealed, the Republicans resolved to force the Civil Rights Bill into the constitution. Consequently a fourteenth amendment was proposed. This enacted that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States" were citizens of the United States and of the state in which they lived. No state was to diminish in any way the civil rights

of any citizen. The federal courts were to be open to all citizens. Thus the colored man would be a citizen of the United States, and could appeal to the national courts against such laws as those passed by the reconstructed states. The amendment did not compel the states to grant the privilege of voting. That the state could grant or refuse, but if refused, the representation of the state in congress was to be reduced in proportion to the number of those who could not vote. The third section of the amendment made it impossible for those confederate officers who had been in the service of the United States or of a state before the war to vote or to hold office. This restricted the president's pardoning power, and would also throw government in the southern states into the hands of union men and the freedmen. The fourth section guaranteed the debt of the United States, and at the same time made all debts of the confederacy null and void. These provisions were the same as those which had been put in the Civil Rights Bill. The fourteenth amendment was declared in force July 28, 1868.

600. The Congressional Election of 1866.—The election of representatives to congress in 1866 was looked forward to as decisive as to the will of the northern people in regard to the fourteenth amendment and of the struggle between president and congress. If the people sided with the president they would elect representatives favorable to his plan; if not, they would elect representatives favorable to the congressional plan. The campaign was very warm, and the president made most undignified and violent speeches against his opponents, abusing congress, asserting that certain congressmen were trying to destroy the constitution, and more than hinting that the same individuals wished to have him assassinated. Such foolish and venomous talk made him contemptible, and helped materially to ruin the cause which he championed. As a consequence, the new congress was to be more bitterly opposed to the president than the old one.

601. Congress Limits Johnson's Powers.—While the elec-

tions were taking place, all the southern states, excepting only Tennessee, had contemptuously rejected the fourteenth amendment, which could not become part of the constitution without their assent. Congress at once admitted Tennessee to the union, and decreed that the other ten seceded states could not come back until they had ratified the amendment. The Republicans then carried out a program which put them in complete control. In the first place, the congress just elected was authorized to meet on the 4th of March, 1867, instead of in December. This would give the president no chance whatever to carry out measures which congress opposed. The Republicans next passed the Tenure of Office Act, by which the president was forbidden to dismiss any government official without the consent of the senate; they then enacted a third measure which made General Grant supreme as head of the army, so that the president's control over the troops was taken away.

602. The Completed Reconstruction Measures.—The congress elected in 1866 met on the 4th of March, 1867, and at once completed the reconstruction measures. The ten southern states still outside the union were divided into five military districts, over each of which a general was placed to carry out by military force the policy of congress. The measures of reconstruction were then detailed. The state governments recognized by the president were set aside; all citizens of the southern states, white or colored, not excluded by the fourteenth amendment, were to elect delegates to state conventions. The conventions would draw up new constitutions. These constitutions, however, must allow the freedmen to vote. The constitution was next to be ratified by the same voters who had elected the delegates to the convention. The state was then ready to enter the union, but before it came in, it must adopt the fourteenth amendment. Until that was done the military officers would remain in control.

603. Reconstruction Carried Out.—This plan put the power in the southern states into the hands of southern union men

and the freedmen. The result was that the conventions in Arkansas, North Carolina, South Carolina, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida accepted the conditions of congress, approved the fourteenth amendment, and were recognized as being states with full state powers. The work was completed in June, 1868. Virginia, Mississippi, and Texas refused to accept the fourteenth amendment; Georgia, after accepting it, passed laws against the colored man, and was refused admission. These four states, therefore, remained subject to military rule.

604. Military Rule in the South.—The military governments set up by congress had absolute power in the southern states until reconstruction was complete. The generals in command made regulations; dismissed and appointed civil officers at pleasure; set aside the laws and institutions of the various states, and put military courts in the place of the civil courts. The colored people were protected in their rights and encouraged to vote and hold office.

605. The New Governments.—Where reconstruction was completed, the new governments usually fell into the hands of the most incapable and least competent classes of the population. Not infrequently white men, contemptuously called "scalawags," men without property or character, and without experience of political life, controlled the colored vote to enable them to secure the offices and plunder the country. They were joined by a number of northern men of much more ability and political experience, but most of whom came to the south to make fortunes. These people were called "carpet-baggers," because in many cases they brought all their worldly possessions with them in a carpet-bag. Some of them were honest and desired to help the south, but many were neither honest nor helpful. Legislatures made up of these classes voted vast sums of money to themselves and their friends. In South Carolina a mixed legislature furnished the statehouse in magnificent style: clocks cost \$480 each; mirrors, \$750, and each member was voted a china

cuspidor worth \$8. At the end of each session all this magnificent furniture mysteriously disappeared, and the legislative halls had to be refurnished at equal expense. Many of the legislators, and even many of the judges, could neither read nor write. Some of these legislatures often voted money lavishly—even recklessly. In four years and a half the debt of Louisiana was increased by \$106,000,000. Taxes became so oppressive that many impoverished southern planters could not pay them and had to part with the old plantations.

606. The Impeachment of President Johnson.—Poor President Johnson, left in an office without power, and, on account of the Tenure of Office Act, denied the pleasure of getting rid of officials who were obnoxious to him, struggled angrily and vainly against the will of the majority in congress. Finally, he resolved to dismiss Secretary Stanton, in spite of the Tenure Act, which forbade his dismissing any official without the consent of the senate. Hereupon Stanton appealed to the house of representatives, which, on February 24, 1868, determined to impeach the president. The impeachment was brought before the senate, with the chief justice, for this purpose, its presiding officer. On May 16 a vote was reached on the article charging Johnson with having broken the Tenure of Office Act. It was then found that two-thirds of the senate would not declare the president guilty, the vote being 35 for conviction to 19 against. Hereupon the impeachment failed. This trial produced the greatest excitement both in congress and throughout the country, and provoked much bitterness of party spirit.

607. The State of Nebraska.—On March 1, 1867, Nebraska was admitted as the thirty-seventh state. The constitution of the new state not only granted freedom to all men, but the franchise to the negro.

608. Mexico and the Monroe Doctrine.—During the civil war France had picked a quarrel with the republic of Mexico, and Napoleon III. had sent an expedition to that

country in 1862. Once there, he refused to withdraw his army, and finally set up the luckless Archduke Maximilian of Austria as emperor of Mexico. The United States protested at once, but could do nothing. When the war was over, however, Secretary Seward hinted to the French minister that the Monroe Doctrine was being violated by the constant presence of French troops in Mexico. Matters now wore a different face, and Napoleon recognized the situation and withdrew. The Emperor Maximilian, however, decided to remain. Thereupon the Mexicans took him captive, and on the 19th of June, 1867, executed him as a traitor.

609. The Purchase of Alaska.—In 1867 the United States added Alaska to its territory by purchase from Russia. The credit of the annexation is Secretary Seward's. At the time there was much ridicule of the proceeding, and people were inclined to be indignant at the expenditure of over \$7,000,000 for a barren expanse of territory. Time, however, seems to have proved Seward's wisdom, since the mineral resources of the territory are of immense value.

610. Election of 1868.—The Republicans were now through with Johnson for good or ill. In 1868 they nominated General Grant for president. Horatio Seymour of New York was the Democratic candidate. Grant was easily elected, receiving 214 electoral votes to Seymour's 80.

GRANT'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1869-1877

611. Ulysses S. Grant, eighteenth president of the United States, was the son of an Ohio farmer. In 1839 he was appointed a West Point cadet. On his graduation he was made a second lieutenant, and was soon engaged in the Mexican war with credit to himself. In 1854, after attaining the rank of captain, he retired and went into business in St. Louis until August, 1860, when he removed to Galena, Illinois, where he acted as clerk in his father's store. At the beginning of the war he was appointed colonel of volun-

teers, and rose rapidly until he was made lieutenant-general with the command of all the armies in the field, March 2, 1864. In 1868 he was elected president, and again in 1872.

After his retirement Grant made a voyage around the world, which added to his fame both abroad and at home. In 1880 he was a candidate for a third term, but failed to receive the Republican nomination. The latter years of his life were employed in the writing of his "Personal Memoirs," a work creditable to his reputation as a soldier and as an author.

Grant was born at Point Pleasant, Ohio, April 27, 1822, and died July 23, 1885, at Mount McGregor, New York.

612. The Union Pacific Railroad.—It had long been the opinion of the people of the United States that a railroad should be built to the Pacific coast so that the country might be bound firmly together. As it was impossible to get anyone to build this road without assistance, the government loaned large sums of money and gave liberal grants of western land to the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific companies for the building of the road. With the help of these grants which the companies sold at a large profit, and by using Chinamen as laborers, the road was finished in 1869. Great was the rejoicing over the completion of this gigantic task.

613. The Fifteenth Amendment.—Just before Grant's inauguration, on the 26th of February, 1869, congress proposed another amendment to the constitution which declared that the right to vote should "not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude." By the addition of this amendment it was expected that the right of the freedman to vote could never be taken away. The ratification of the amendment was then made a condition of the reconstruction of the four southern states, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas, which were still out of the union. The amendment was declared in force March 30, 1870.

614. The Ku-Klux Klan.—Many white people of the south, dissatisfied with the disturbed condition of southern politics under reconstruction, sought to defeat the party in power by the organization (1866) of a secret society known as the Ku-Klux Klan. Its members were bound by oath to obey the orders of their superiors, and an organized attempt was made to prevent the freedman from voting. Superstitious colored people were terrified by the appearance at night of ghostly figures masked and robed in white, who went groaning and howling about their cabins. Those who could not be scared by this mummerly were dragged out of their huts, flogged severely, and sometimes killed. Later the Klan treated white men who assisted freedmen in the same way. Notices to leave the country were sent to such men, with a threat of death if the notice was not obeyed. Many murders resulted; by 1870 the society had established a reign of terror over a great part of the south, with the result that colored voters refrained from going to the polls.

615. Force Bills.—The Ku-Klux became extremely violent in 1870 and 1871. In May, 1870, without knowing who committed the outrages, congress passed a force bill to carry out the fourteenth and fifteenth amendments. By this law the United States courts were to try all cases of intimidation and bribery of voters, frauds at the ballot box, and all interference with elections or election officers. This was not sufficient, and in April, 1871, a second force bill was passed. Congress had now learned about the Ku-Klux, and this act was aimed against the dreaded society. Severe punishments were to be inflicted upon those who committed the outrages, and the president was allowed to use the army and navy to carry out the law. The authorities acted with decisive energy. Many men were arrested, tried, and sentenced to prison. Under this treatment the Ku-Klux quickly disappeared.

616. Reconstruction Completed.—The year 1871 saw the end of unreconstructed states. Virginia was admitted in

January, Mississippi in February, Texas in March, 1870; and Georgia in January, 1871. This completed the work of reconstruction by congress.

617. Military Authority Continued in the South.—The southern states, however, were not yet left to work out their own problems. Under the force bills the president had the power to keep troops in the south and to interfere in public affairs. As it was believed with only too much reason that the freedmen would not be fairly treated, the rule of the bayonet was still continued. The result was constant turbulence, riots, and at times something like civil war in those states.

618. The Treaty of Washington.—President Grant's first term was largely devoted to the settlement of foreign questions. The most important problems were those involved in our relations with England. There were three: the fishery question; the water boundary on the northwest; and the Alabama question or the claim for damages by the United States for the injuries inflicted by confederate war vessels built in England, the most important of which was the Alabama. Reverdy Johnson, minister to England, had tried to settle these points in 1869, but the treaty he made was so unsatisfactory that it was rejected with indignation, and not a few Americans began to talk excitedly of war with England. In 1870, however, the question was taken up peaceably, and in 1871 England and the United States signed the Treaty of Washington, by which the Americans received satisfaction in regard to the fisheries, and the other questions were to be settled by arbitration. The emperor of Germany was selected to decide upon the boundary dispute. The question at issue was as to the line down the straits between Vancouver Island and the mainland. If this boundary line passed through "the channel" to the west of San Juan Island, it would leave that island to America; if it passed through the channel to the east, the island would go to Great Britain. In 1872 the German emperor gave his decision in favor of the United States.

619. The Alabama Claims: The Geneva Award.—The Ala-

bama dispute was harder to settle. Our government claimed that as Great Britain had allowed the Alabama and other confederate privateers to be fitted out in her ports, she was responsible for the damage done by these privateers. Great Britain replied that no such rule of international law existed. The matter was left to five arbitrators, one each from Great Britain, the United States, Italy, Brazil, and Switzerland. In 1872 the court of arbitration, sitting at Geneva, Switzerland, decided by a vote of four to one that Great Britain was responsible and should pay \$15,500,000 in gold to the United States. The English were much displeased at the result. The verdict of the court was that a neutral nation must observe "due diligence" to prevent its territory from being made the base of armed expeditions against another power and that the nation failing to use such "due diligence" must pay damages.

620. Cuba: The *Virginius*—1873.—In 1868 a rebellion broke out in the island of Cuba, and much sympathy was expressed in the United States for the Cubans. President Grant insisted that Americans should take no part in the contest, but many young men stole away to assist the natives, while arms and ammunition were sent from the United States. Naturally the Spaniards were enraged. In October, 1873, the captain of a Spanish man-of-war captured the *Virginius*, an American vessel, hauled down the American flag, and proceeded to shoot the captain and fifty-six of the crew, nine of whom were American citizens. The excuse for all this was that the *Virginius* was a filibuster. This was probably true, but the seizing of an American vessel, the summary and brutal slaughter of American citizens, drove the country into a frenzy of rage. It required all the president's tact and firmness to keep off war. He straightway demanded from Spain a humble apology and money damages. These the Spaniards gave, declaring that they had no intention of insulting the United States in seizing the *Virginius*.

621. The Campaign of 1872.—During Grant's administration, much corruption in the management of public affairs had come to light. Although the president was thoroughly honest and was known to be opposed to dishonest men and methods, still dissatisfaction with this condition of affairs led many Republicans to break away from their party. Many were displeased, too, with the continued military control of the south. In 1872 these Republicans, taking the name Liberal Republicans, made a bitter fight against the renomination of General Grant, unjustly insisting that he was the source of all the corruption and misgovernment. When they found that they could not hinder his renomination, they put forward a candidate of their own, selecting Horace Greeley, editor of the New York "Tribune," a very able but eccentric man. He was a staunch Republican, a bitter enemy of slavery and secession, and the most prominent supporter of a protective tariff. He was supposed to be a strong candidate, since for years the farmers of the country had taken their views of politics from what Greeley had to say in the weekly "Tribune." His nomination by the Liberal Republicans, therefore, led the Democrats to hope that Grant could be beaten, and they, too, named Greeley as their candidate. But Greeley had been too violent a Republican to be pleasing to most Democrats. Grant easily won, although the Democrats elected a majority of the representatives to congress.

622. The First Civil Service Reform Bill.—To check corruption in office, and secure good men for the offices, congress passed in March, 1871, a civil service bill. In accordance with this, the smaller places in the government service, such as clerkships, were to be given to candidates on their merit, and not because of political favoritism. Unfortunately, congress was not in earnest in wanting reform. President Grant wished to carry out the measure, but in 1874 congress refused to vote money for the payment of the civil service board, and the reform perished for the time being.

623. Demonetization of Silver—1873: Inflation Bill—1874: Resumption Act—1875.—Grant's second term was filled with financial questions. In 1873 congress passed a bill making gold the standard of value in the United States, in other words, "demonetizing silver," an act which later gave rise to much discussion and ill-feeling. In April, 1874, impelled by the belief of many citizens that "plenty of money was a good thing," congress passed a bill, known as the Inflation Bill, which would increase the paper money of the country enormously. President Grant, who believed that this would be a great evil, vetoed the bill. At this time the country had no gold or silver money in circulation, and, if the bill had been passed, it was unlikely that specie would have come into general circulation for many years. The business people of the country urged, that only by having gold or silver could business be put on a sound basis and prices kept from going constantly up and down. A one-dollar bill, measured in gold or silver, would not buy more than 80 or 90 cents' worth of goods,—thus paper money was not equal to its face value. The financial panic of 1873, in which thousands were ruined, was largely owing to the unsettled state of the finances, and the depreciated value of the paper currency. If more paper had been issued, a paper dollar would have been worth still less. Grant's veto, therefore, was a good one, and made him popular with many who had before disliked him. In order to hinder such bills in future, a demand was now made that the country should return to gold and silver money, or "resume payments in specie," as it was called. As a consequence, the Resumption Act was passed in January, 1875, which declared that after the first of January, 1879, the United States would pay all its debts in gold and silver, on demand.

624. Trouble with the Sioux: Custer's Massacre—1876.—In 1874 gold was found in the Black Hills, on the Sioux reservation. The whites poured in and began digging the gold, in spite of the protests of the Indians. The govern-

ment tried to settle the difficulty by moving the Sioux to a new reservation. They objected, and early in 1876, under the lead of "Sitting Bull," began war. The climax came in June, when General George A. Custer with 262 men came upon the Sioux in overwhelming numbers. A battle followed, which became a massacre, every one of Custer's band being killed, fighting desperately to the end. The massacre struck horror into the people of the country. The government poured troops into the disputed territory, the Indians were forced to yield, and then affairs were left precisely as before.

625. Amnesty Bill—1872: Withdrawal of Troops from the South—1874 to 1877.—In 1872 congress passed a bill of amnesty pardoning all who took part in the war against the union, with the exception of about 350 of the most prominent leaders. Federal troops were still used in the south, however, to protect the colored man and many who wished to see him fairly dealt with in the right to vote and hold office as guaranteed in the constitution. The presence of these troops provoked constant trouble, riots, and outbreaks. The people of the north were now heartily tired of these difficulties. As President Grant said in 1874, "The whole public are tired out with these annual autumnal outbreaks in the south, and a great majority now are ready to condemn any interference on the part of the government." Most of the troops were withdrawn in Grant's administration. The reconstruction governments vanished wherever this took place. The election of 1874 was the turning point although there was still interference by the national government due to claims of fraud at the elections. It was not until 1876 that the national government ceased its watchfulness over southern elections. In 1877 President Hayes withdrew the troops entirely. The long struggle had divided the political parties of the south along race lines,—a condition most unfortunate for that part of the union. "The solid south" is the result. The colored man's right

to vote is not denied, but is rendered of no account by intimidation, and other methods, some of which to-day are being looked upon with apprehension by many serious-minded citizens in all parts of the union.

626. The Credit Mobilier and Other Scandals: The Whiskey Ring.—In 1872 charges against the Union Pacific railroad were made. It was said that the builders of the road had spent \$9,000,000 to bribe congressmen. This was proved false in 1873, but many congressmen were found to have taken stock in the road, and then to have voted it liberal assistance. This was known as the "Credit Mobilier Scandal," taking its name from the name of a Pennsylvania corporation.

The administration itself was mixed up in two great scandals. The first of these involved the war department. Secretary Belknap and some of the under officials were accused of selling offices, and of forcing officers to pay in order to hold their positions. In 1876 the house voted unanimously to impeach Belknap. He then resigned the secretaryship and escaped all punishment. The treasury department was also charged with several frauds. Some of its officials sold the right to collect taxes, the proceeds to be shared between the buyer and the treasury officials. In 1874 the acting secretary resigned, as a consequence of the exposure of these frauds. B. H. Bristow of Kentucky became secretary, and immediately found himself face to face with the biggest fraud of all—the "Whiskey Ring." Internal revenue officers and distillers of whiskey formed this ring with the purpose of cheating the government out of the revenue tax. By 1875 over \$2,800,000 had thus been stolen. Bristow, with the president's hearty assistance, fought the ring and broke it down in many places. But president and secretary together were not able to overthrow it completely. In fact, the ring was so strongly supported, that in 1876 it forced the secretary out of office. The same corruption was active in many of the city governments of

the country, especially in that of New York. Here the infamous "Tweed Ring" plundered right and left. Over \$160,000,000 were stolen. In 1871 the city broke from the clutches of this ring and Tweed, the leader, was arrested, tried, convicted, and some years later died in jail.

627. The Ninth Census—1870.—The ninth census of the United States showed a total population of 38,558,378,—a gain of more than 7,000,000 people, and this, too, in spite of the civil war. Of this number, 4,880,009 were free colored persons. Since 1860 nearly 2,500,000 people had arrived from Europe—about half of them from the British Islands.

628. Campaign of 1876.—Such was the situation the Republicans had to face in 1876. The Democrats were consequently very confident. They nominated Samuel J. Tilden, reform governor of New York, as their choice for president. The Republicans named Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio. A third party now appeared in the field, called the Greenback party. It believed that the Resumption Act was unjust to the laboring man, who, it supposed, would be helped by a paper money not redeemable in specie. The party declared for unlimited greenbacks and nominated Peter Cooper of New York as their candidate for president. After a bitter contest, the campaign ended with no one certainly elected. This result was due to the fact that the boards which counted the votes in Louisiana, Florida, and South Carolina threw out Democratic votes and declared the states Republican. They did this on the ground that the Democrats in these states cheated in the election. In Oregon also there was a dispute as to whether the state had voted for the Democratic or the Republican candidate. If Tilden received only one of all these disputed votes, he would be elected, while Hayes had to get them all. Both parties claimed the election. For a time it looked as if a civil war was about to break out.

629. The Electoral Commission.—At last, however, congress created a commission to decide the disputed votes.

This commission was made up of five senators, five representatives, and five members of the supreme court. Out of the fifteen, eight were Republicans, seven Democrats. On every disputed question eight members voted for the Republican claims, seven for the Democratic. Hayes was declared elected by a vote of 185 in the electoral college to 184 awarded to Tilden. William A. Wheeler of New York was declared elected vice-president.







CHAPTER XV

FROM HAYES TO ROOSEVELT

EXPANSION

1877-

HAYES'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1877-1881

630. Rutherford Birchard Hayes, the nineteenth president of the United States, was the son of an Ohio farmer. He was educated in the common schools and at Kenyon college, Ohio. After leaving college, he studied law, was admitted to the bar, and soon proved himself an able lawyer. When the civil war began he enlisted in the union army as a captain, and rose to the rank of brevet major-general. In 1864 he was elected to congress; in 1868 he became governor of Ohio, entered upon a second term in 1870 and a third in 1876. The same year he was elected president.

Mr. Hayes was an extremely able president, and as brave and honest as he was able. After his presidency he retired to Fremont, Ohio.

Hayes was born in Delaware, Ohio, October 4, 1822, and died in Fremont, that state, January 17, 1893.

631. The New Nation.—The year 1877 closed the era of reconstruction and opened up another epoch in the nation's history. From that year we may say that a new nation has been created and new policies adopted. With the north and the south once more welded together, and the old questions about slavery and state rights shelved, the people have turned with astonishing energy to settle other problems. The keynote of this movement is found in the word *expansion*. Expansion in commerce and expansion in territory—consciously or unconsciously—these have been the guiding motives.

Hence it is that legislation has dealt with great commercial affairs, with tariffs, with financial questions, with railroads, with the creation of new states, with the settlement of Alaska; with foreign questions; with the subject of a canal between the Atlantic and the Pacific; with the securing of new territory. The acquisition of this new territory is the inevitable climax of the movement. Events beyond the control of man made it certain, and similar events have determined that the expansion shall be to the south and in the extreme east. Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines have been added. Will the movement stop here? Most Americans would be inclined to answer yes; but only the future can determine.

632. The President's Position.—The new president took high ground on all questions which came before him, and particularly in regard to civil service and finance,—questions which must be settled properly before the future of the nation can be assured. On both these, Hayes was opposed by a considerable faction in his own party. His “southern policy” still further exasperated this faction. The Democrats meanwhile were his bitter foes, regarding him as a usurper in the presidency on account of the manner of his election. Consequently his administration was one of great difficulty.

633. Conciliation of the South: Hayes's Southern Policy.—Hayes believed that the only hope of healing the wounds created by the civil war lay in conciliating the south. Statesmen perceived that this conciliation was necessary; that a divided nation could not possibly attain a great destiny. In making up his cabinet Hayes held out the “olive branch of peace” by appointing as postmaster-general David M. Key, who was not only a Democrat but a southerner and an ex-confederate officer. He then consulted a number of southerners, and upon receiving from them a promise to uphold the national laws in the south, he withdrew the troops from South Carolina and Louisiana. As a consequence, for the

first time since the war the south was solidly democratic. Many Republicans bitterly opposed Hayes for bringing this about.

634. Civil Service Reform.—His efforts on behalf of civil service reform were no less unpopular with this class of Republicans. In spite of the refusal of congress to vote money for the execution of the law, the president bravely attempted to bring about a reform in the civil service. He refused to allow senators and representatives to select the federal officers in their states, and instructed the secretaries and other officials to make appointments to office solely for merit. Hayes's opponents were deeply offended, and the Republicans in the senate retaliated by refusing to consent to some of his nominations, especially that to the post of collector in New York. Defeated once, the president returned to the charge in 1879. He insisted on the removal of the collector and the naval officer at the port of New York, alleging that they had used their offices "to manage and control political affairs." The officials denied the charge, and a heated struggle between the president and the senate followed. The president finally won. He also removed the postmasters of New York and St. Louis, and introduced civil service reform in both places. For these and like services to good government President Hayes deserves the thanks of all honest citizens.

635. Resumption of Specie Payment—1879.—The act for resuming payments in coin, passed in 1875, was to go into effect January 1, 1879. The law had given rise to much feeling. Popular politicians all through the campaign of 1876 denounced the policy, declaring that resumption was wrong, since it meant the end of inflation. Ceaseless floods of paper money, endless rising and falling of prices were the demands of this class. Many Republicans adopted these notions, and wished to give up the plan of resumption. With these Hayes did not agree. Resumption, he said, was honest; it was best for our trade, especially

our trade with other countries. Inflation, on the other hand, would destroy our reputation for honesty abroad and would be ruinous to thousands.

In his policy he was strongly supported by his able secretary of the treasury, John Sherman of Ohio. In preparation for the day of resumption the secretary began to collect coin, and by the sale of bonds procured \$140,000,000, which were to be used in redeeming the greenbacks. Many prophesied that the attempt would be a failure; that when the day of resumption came, everyone would be eager to change his paper into specie, a panic would follow, and thousands would be ruined. Not a word of this came true. On January 1, 1879, the policy of resumption was successfully carried out. The treasury of the United States was open to pay coin for the greenbacks of all who came, and scarcely anyone came. When people found that they could have coin for paper they did not want it. All that anyone wishes to know, in reference to specie, is that he can have it when he asks for it. From that day the paper money was as good as gold and silver. It had not been so before.

636. The Silver Question: The Bland-Allison Bill—1878.—Even before the paper money problem was settled, a new financial question came up—the silver question. For years silver had been getting less and less valuable, until in 1878 a silver dollar contained only about ninety cents' worth of silver. Now a new doctrine arose, which held that silver money should be made by law equal to gold, whether it was actually so or not, and that the United States should coin into dollars all silver that was offered to it. The law of 1873 making gold the only standard of value had made this impossible. If now a law was passed compelling people to take silver on an equality with gold, all debtors would pay their debts in silver, and creditors would lose ten cents in every dollar owed to them. As paper had driven coin out of circulation, so silver would drive out gold, and as it continued to get less valuable, prices would fre-

quently go up and down once more, and there would be much loss. Hayes said this was a scheme to cheat. If people wanted a silver dollar to pass as a dollar, a dollar's worth of silver ought to be put into it.

Congress did not agree with the president. It tried a compromise. It would not pass a bill to have all silver coined and to be equal to gold in paying debts. But it did pass a bill ordering the secretary of the treasury to buy at least 2,000,000 ounces of silver every month and make silver dollars out of it. This was called the Bland-Allison Bill. The president vetoed it, and congress passed it over the veto in February, 1878. The coinage of silver being limited, and the silver not being payable in all debts, the silver dollars became worth as much as gold dollars, and the gold remained in the country.

637. Colorado Admitted—1876: The Tenth Census—1880.—Colorado was admitted into the union as the thirty-eighth state in 1876. Four years later the tenth census of the United States was taken, disclosing the fact that the United States had a total population of 50,155,783. Included in this population were 6,580,793 colored persons, 104,565 Chinese, 148 Japanese, and 66,407 civilized Indians. During the ten years closing with 1880, nearly 3,000,000 immigrants arrived in the United States,—about a million of whom were from the British Islands.

638. The Presidential Election of 1880.—Hayes had no chance of a renomination, his policy having made him very unpopular. Many Republicans wished to nominate General Grant for a third term. This gave rise to a cry of kingship, and alarmed many people with the idea of a life presidency. The third term idea was unpopular, and Grant failed to get the nomination. Instead, James A. Garfield was named. The Democrats nominated General Winfield S. Hancock. Garfield was elected by a vote in the electoral college of 214 votes to 155 cast for Hancock. Chester Alan Arthur was elected vice-president.

GARFIELD AND ARTHUR'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1881-1885

639. James Abram Garfield, twentieth president of the United States, was the son of poor parents. His father died when he was still an infant. As a boy Garfield worked hard for a living, being employed as a mule-driver on a canal. He had already shown exceptional brilliancy, learning to read at the age of three. Naturally he desired an education, and struggled to attain it. He attended Hiram College in Ohio and afterwards was graduated at Williams College in Massachusetts. He then became a professor in Hiram College, and later its president. Meanwhile he was admitted to the bar. In 1859 he was a senator in the Ohio legislature. When the war began he was made lieutenant-colonel, and rose to the rank of major-general. He was elected to the United States house of representatives in 1863 and remained there until 1880. In that year he was elected United States senator, but before he took his seat he was made president by the Republican party. Almost immediately after he entered upon his office he was assassinated.

President Garfield was born at Orange, Ohio, November 19, 1831, and died at Elberon, New Jersey, September 19, 1881.

640. The Blaine and Conkling Political Quarrel. — When Garfield became president, he appointed James G. Blaine secretary of state, an act which enraged Senator Roscoe Conkling of New York, who personally disliked Blaine. A struggle followed between the Blaine and Conkling factions of the Republican party. The president joined himself wholly to the Blaine wing and struck at the New York senator by appointing Conkling's enemies in New York to the federal offices in that state. In an overwhelming rage both the New York senators, Conkling and Thomas C. Platt, resigned their seats in the United States senate. They then carried the fight to the New York legislature, asking for a reëlection to the senate as a blow to the

president. They expected an easy success, and as a result a brilliant victory over the president and Secretary Blaine. To their amazement, the New York legislature refused to elect them, and the president was left victor of the field.

641. Assassination of Garfield.—The excitement caused by this political quarrel affected the brain of a half-mad and disappointed office-seeker, named Charles Jules Guiteau. This wretch, on the morning of July 2, shot the president as he was in the ticket office of the Baltimore and Ohio railroad at Washington. The president was not killed, however, and the utmost efforts were made to save his life. It was all in vain, and after almost three months of agony, the brave and brilliant statesman passed away. The assassin was tried and executed.

642. Chester Alan Arthur, who on the death of Garfield became the twenty-first president of the United States, was the son of a Vermont clergyman. He was graduated at Union college in the state of New York, and in 1853 began the practice of law. In 1871 Grant appointed him collector of the port of New York, which position he held until 1878. In 1880 he was nominated for vice-president by the Republicans. He became president the 20th of September, 1881. After his presidency he retired to New York City.

President Arthur was born in Fairfield, Vermont, October 5, 1830, and died in New York City, November 18, 1886.

643. The Pendleton Civil Service Act of 1883.—In spite of the efforts of President Hayes, much corruption still existed in political life. The star route frauds in 1881 attracted universal attention to the disgraceful fact, and the acrimonious fight over the New York offices during Garfield's administration convinced everyone that an earnest effort should be made to end this wretched state of affairs. In January, 1883, urged forward by the voice of the people, congress passed the Pendleton Civil Service Act. Under this act, appointments to the civil

service are made only after an examination is passed by the applicants for the offices. The president also appoints a civil service commission to see that the law is properly carried out. President Arthur supported the law faithfully, and his example has been followed by succeeding presidents. The result has been excellent, and the principle of civil service reform has been introduced into many states and cities as a consequence. Spoils politicians oppose the policy, but this is one of the best reasons why every honest citizen should support it.

644. The Australian Ballot. — Another plan making for purity in politics is the use of the Australian ballot, by which citizens vote secretly for the man of their choice. This secret system of voting puts an end to most of the opportunities for bribery and intimidation. It is now in use in almost every state in the union.

645. Acts against Immigration. — The United States has received vast benefits from the coming to this country of intelligent foreigners of good habits. After the civil war, however, the character of immigration became objectionable. Paupers, criminals, and lunatics came to the United States in hordes, and thus many European governments got rid of their burdens at our expense, while crime increased in America. To put an end to this objectionable state of affairs, a law was passed in 1882 forbidding paupers, convicts, lunatics, and idiots to come to the United States from other countries.

In the same year another law shut out Chinese immigrants for ten years. The Chinese came to America first at the time of the gold excitement in California. Later large numbers came to assist in building the Pacific railroads. A constantly increasing stream of Chinese poured into the United States. As the Chinese live on almost nothing and work for the lowest wages, other laboring men soon found difficulty in getting work. The result was a movement to drive out the Chinese. Chinamen were mobbed, beaten, and

killed, and a demand came from California and the west for their exclusion from the United States. Hereupon the law of 1882, known as the Chinese Exclusion Act, was passed. Since then it has been added to several times, and was re-enacted in 1892, and again in 1902.

In 1885 another act forbade capitalists to import laborers from foreign countries on a contract or promise to give them work after they came. This act is known as the Contract Labor Law. Of course, artists, teachers, singers, and such classes do not fall under its provisions.

646. The Presidential Campaign of 1884.—In 1884 James G. Blaine of Maine, who had played a prominent part in politics as speaker of the house, and as Garfield's secretary of state, was nominated for president by the Republicans. The Democrats selected Grover Cleveland of New York, and took up the cry of reform in government. A strong body of independent Republicans declared against Blaine, and, through their influence in the election, he lost the electoral vote of New York, in which state the independents were especially numerous. The majority against Blaine was about one thousand votes. Fraud was charged in that state and the vote contested in the supreme court of New York. Before the case came to trial, Cleveland was inaugurated and the excitement subsided. The New York supreme court afterwards rendered a verdict which in effect declared that the New York electoral vote should have been given to Blaine. But wisely the matter was dropped there. The country did not wish to be disturbed by such another contest as the threatening Hayes and Tilden contest of 1876.

CLEVELAND'S FIRST ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1885-1889

647. Grover Cleveland, the twenty-second president of the United States, is the son of a Presbyterian clergyman. He received a public school education, and later taught in the New York Institution for the Blind. In 1859

he became a lawyer; in 1871 he was elected sheriff of Erie county, New York, and in 1881 mayor of Buffalo. He made so excellent a record as reform mayor of that city, that the Democrats in 1882 made him governor of New York. In 1884 he was elected president; in 1888 the Democrats renominated him, but he was defeated by Benjamin Harrison. He then took up the practice of law in New York City. In 1892 he was again elected president.

Since his retirement Mr. Cleveland has lived in Princeton, New Jersey. Here he has delivered lectures at intervals before the students of Princeton College on national and international affairs.

Mr. Cleveland was born in Caldwell, New Jersey, March 18, 1837.

648. The Return of the Democrats to Power.—Cleveland was the first Democratic president since 1861, and both parties regarded his election as a revolution. The Democrats for the most part expected that a clean sweep would be made in the offices; many Republicans vaguely looked for the breaking up of the government; some declared gloomily that slavery would be reëstablished. All these absurd expectations were happily disappointed.

649. Cleveland and the Spoils System.—The keenest disappointment, however, was felt by those who had rallied around Cleveland to “turn the rascals out,” in other words to secure government positions for themselves. Cleveland was a reformer, supported by reformers, and he set himself like granite against the spoilsmen. “Gentlemen,” said a southern politician sadly, “I fear there will be some difficulty about the offices.” So there was. The new president would not turn out “the rascals” in anything like the desired numbers.

650. Private Pension Bills.—Cleveland also believed that it was the part of reform to put an end to what he considered excessive pensions. He said men were every year drawing millions of money from the government without any just

claim whatever; that it was in the interests of the honest veterans that the undeserving should not receive pensions. The abuses, he thought, were largely due to the passage of private pension bills by congress, whereas congress ought to leave the decision in such matters to the pension bureau. He therefore declared war against private pension bills, and vetoed many of them. In 1887 he also vetoed the Dependent Pension Bill, which would have given pensions to all poor veterans who had served three months in the union armies. Cleveland's pension policy met with much opposition at the north, where it was felt that nothing is too good for all honest and worthy union veterans who had offered their services and their lives in the defence of their country.

651. Presidential Succession Bill—1886.—In 1886 congress passed a bill providing for the succession to the presidency, in case both the president and the vice-president should die or be unable to exercise the office. Under this law, the secretary of state succeeds the vice-president, then comes the secretary of the treasury, the secretary of war, and the other cabinet officers in the order of the creation of the departments. This arrangement makes it impossible that the office of president should ever be vacant.

652. The Interstate Commerce Act.—The great railroads of the United States possess enormous power over the trade and commerce of the country. If they combine, they can charge what prices they please for carrying freight. Again, they may carry one man's goods at a cheaper rate than they will carry those of another man, to the ruin of the person against whom they discriminate. In many instances the railroads had done these things. In 1887 an attempt was made to stop such practices by the passage of the Interstate Commerce Act. This forbids railroads to make a difference in the terms on which they will carry freight for different persons, or to combine to fix rates. The law also creates a body called the Interstate Commerce Commission to see

that the railroads obey its provisions. Though some benefit has resulted, the act has been evaded to a considerable extent, and the problem of compelling obedience to it still awaits solution.

653. Fishery Questions.—Most of our foreign difficulties have been with England, since she has always possessed large colonies on this continent. During Cleveland's first administration, serious disputes arose over the question of fishery rights. Disagreement came first over the claim of Americans to catch fish along the shores of Canada. The right to fish there had been given us by the Treaty of Washington in 1871. This treaty expired in 1885, and trouble immediately arose. Of course American fishermen could continue their fishing on the high seas, and the dispute related to this question: What are the "high seas"? America said that any part of the sea three miles from the shore was part of the high seas. Great Britain said that this principle was not correct when applied to bays, that the Americans could not fish in the bays on the Canadian coast, no matter how far they were from land. The New England fishermen continued to fish inside the bays, and as a result, England began to seize American vessels found within these waters. For a time it looked as if war was certain, but in 1888 the quarrel was compromised. Americans were to secure English licenses if they wished to continue fishing within the disputed waters.

Another fishery dispute was in respect to the taking of seals in Bering Sea. The United States claimed that the whole of Bering Sea belonged to her, and that therefore Englishmen had no right to catch seals anywhere in this sea. This claim, so opposed to the demands in regard to the bays of Newfoundland, was indignantly rejected by England. In 1886, however, the Americans began to seize English sealing vessels in Bering Sea. After much debate and a great deal of irritation the question was submitted to an international court of arbitration, which decided in 1893

that America was mistaken in claiming this entire sea as her private property.

654. The Tariff.—During the civil war high tariff rates were imposed upon nearly every article imported to the United States. When the other war taxes were repealed, the tariff was allowed to stand as it was. Thus the nation found itself almost unconsciously committed to a high protective tariff. The Republicans supported, the Democrats opposed this policy. Nevertheless, the issue was not clearly drawn. In 1880 the question entered into the campaign, but only in a minor degree. In 1883 some reductions were made in rates, but they were of no consequence. In 1887, however, President Cleveland made the tariff a party issue. His message of that year insisted on the lowering of the rates, and declared for a tariff for revenue. Though such a tariff might give some protection, revenue and not protection was to be aimed at.

655. Campaign of 1888.—The presidential election of 1888 was fought out on the tariff issue, and Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, was elected over Cleveland, who had been renominated by the Democrats. Harrison received 233 electoral votes, Cleveland 168. Levi P. Morton was elected vice-president.

HARRISON'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1889-1893

656. Benjamin Harrison, the twenty-third president of the United States, was a member of a distinguished American family. His great-grandfather was one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, and a governor of the Northwest Territory; his grandfather had been president of the United States and his father had played a considerable part in Ohio politics. Harrison was a graduate of Miami university in Ohio. In 1854 he removed to Indianapolis, Indiana, and began the practice of the law. In 1862 he entered the army as second lieutenant and rose to the rank

of brigadier-general. In 1880 he was elected United States senator, and in 1888 president. In 1892 he was renominated, but defeated.

After his presidency Harrison resumed the practice of the law, securing a national reputation as a great lawyer. He still interested himself in politics and represented Venezuela before the international court of arbitration to settle the Venezuela boundary dispute.

Harrison was born in North Bend, Ohio, August 20, 1833, and died in Indianapolis, March 13, 1901.

657. The McKinley Tariff.—Since the campaign of 1888 had been fought out over the tariff issue, the Republicans in 1890 passed the high protective tariff, known as the McKinley Act. This was the highest tariff the country had yet known.

658. Reciprocity and South America.—James G. Blaine, President Harrison's secretary of state, believed that if our commercial expansion was to go on, some means of inducing other nations to trade with us must be found. His principal plan was to lower our tariff rates when other nations agreed to lower theirs. This was reciprocity. He, therefore, secured the insertion of a clause in the McKinley Bill, which gave the president power to lower our tariff for the benefit of any nation which would lower its tariff for our benefit. The reciprocity policy has not had the success it deserves, though the late President McKinley revived the policy and in his last public speech at Buffalo made an impassioned appeal for its adoption by the nation.

A second part of Blaine's trade plans consisted in holding congresses of all the American nations to agree upon plans for mutual commerce. Several of these so-called Pan-American congresses have been held, but the results as yet have not been of much importance.

659. Samoa and the Sandwich Islands.—The United States, seeking all possible outlets for the expansion of its commerce in the far east, became interested in the Samoan Islands as

early as 1878. In that year the government secured an excellent naval harbor at Pango Pango. The English and Germans, just as keen for trade as the Americans, also sought to obtain a footing in Samoa. The consequences were, first, troubles with the natives, and then quarrels among the three powers for the control of the natives. These disputes became particularly acute during Harrison's administration. In 1889 the three nations appointed members to a joint conference to settle the status of the islands and the rights of each nation in them. It was agreed that there should be a joint protectorate. This was absurd, for it virtually left the troublesome situation unchanged. There was more trouble, and in 1899 the affair was finally settled by dividing the islands between Germany and the United States.

Of more importance was the position of the Sandwich islands. The value of these in helping to secure the trade of the far east had been perceived as early as 1850. But nothing was done. In 1893, a revolution led by Americans, broke out in Hawaii. The native queen, Liliuokalani, was unceremoniously deposed and a white republic set up. With unusual haste the new governors sought to place their country under the care of the United States. A treaty of annexation was quickly drawn up, and sent by President Harrison to the senate. Before that body could act Harrison had retired from office, and his successor withdrew the treaty. For the time being the islands were left to their own devices.

660. Campaign of 1892.—In this year, owing to the McKinley act, the tariff was again the predominating issue between the parties. Again the candidates were Harrison and Cleveland, but this time Cleveland was elected over Harrison by a vote in the electoral college of 277 to 145. Adlai E. Stevenson was elected vice-president.

CLEVELAND'S SECOND ADMINISTRATION

DEMOCRATIC: 1893-1897

661. The Panic of 1893: Sherman Act Repealed.—Before any attention could be given to the tariff, a much more pressing

problem forced itself upon public notice. The demand that silver should be placed on the same footing with gold had grown stronger with the passage of time. Yet silver did not cease to sink in value, and by 1890 the silver in a dollar was worth only a little over half that sum in gold. Nevertheless, in that year, a new law, called the Sherman Act, continued the forced coinage of silver and increased the amount coined in each month to 4,500,000 ounces. But silver coin was not yet receivable in payment of all debts, and the government would not coin more than 4,500,000 ounces a month. As it was, however, silver threatened to drive gold out of the country, and thus make it impossible to pay debts excepting in silver. In 1893 a terrible financial panic overran the country, and the opponents of silver coinage declared that it was due to the silver law. However, this may be, business men were panic-stricken; no one would lend money, and creditors tried to force those who owed them to pay their debts at once. Now business can not go on unless money is daily loaned. Consequently trade ceased, firms began to break; laboring men were thrown out of work, and extreme suffering resulted. In August, 1893, therefore, President Cleveland called a special session of congress to repeal the Sherman Act. Driven on by the president and the pressure of public opinion congress did so. But the panic was not ended. The silver advocates said that this proved that silver had nothing to do with it; the opponents of silver said that silver had started the panic, and that once started a panic could not be stopped immediately.

662. The Wilson Bill—1894: The Income Tax.—Congress now turned its attention to the tariff. The result was the Wilson Bill of 1894, which, in spite of the efforts of President Cleveland, left many high duties. An income tax was also passed in connection with the tariff, but the supreme court soon declared the law unconstitutional.

663. Cleveland and the Monroe Doctrine.—For many

years trouble had been brewing between England and the little South American state of Venezuela. The cause lay in the rival claims of the two countries to gold-producing lands in South America. The boundary between British Guiana and Venezuela had never been clearly defined, and of course both parties claimed all the territory in dispute. As Great Britain was the stronger power and would not listen to the proposal of arbitration, Venezuela was sure to lose in the end. So she appealed piteously to the United States. Cleveland and his secretary of state, Richard Olney, agreed that the Monroe doctrine was applicable to the case. Consequently in his message of 1895 the president insisted that Great Britain should submit the dispute to arbitration. The English were astounded and enraged at what they considered American impudence. For a few short weeks nothing less than war was spoken of on both sides of the Atlantic. England, however, was unwilling to go so far, and finally consented to arbitration.

664. New States.—In 1876, Colorado was admitted to the union. In November, 1889, the territory of Dakota was cut in two and the states of North and South Dakota created, while Montana and Washington followed a few days later. The next year, 1890, Idaho and Wyoming were admitted, and in 1896 Utah became the forty-fifth state. This increase in the number of states is a remarkable witness to the rapid expansion of the United States.

665. Oklahoma.—Another evidence of the same breathless speed of expansion was seen in the settlement of Oklahoma. Oklahoma Territory was created in 1890 out of the western part of Indian Territory. Settlers immediately rushed in; cities and towns grew up in a few months, and to-day the territory has a population of nearly a half million, a much larger number than some of the states can boast. The inhabitants have petitioned for admission to the union as a state, a petition which must shortly be granted.

666. The Presidential Campaign of 1896.—In the presidential campaign of 1896 the Democrats declared for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of "sixteen to one," while the Republicans declared for a single gold standard. Three distinct political parties, the Democrats, the People's party, and the Free Silver Republican party, nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska as their candidate. The Republicans nominated William McKinley of Ohio. McKinley was elected by a vote in the electoral college of 271 to 176 cast for Mr. Bryan. G. A. Hobart of New Jersey was elected vice-president.

MCKINLEY AND ROOSEVELT'S ADMINISTRATION

REPUBLICAN: 1897—

667. William McKinley, the twenty-fourth president of the United States, was educated at Poland Academy, Ohio. In 1861 he enlisted as a private in the union army, and rose to the rank of brevet-major. In 1867 he began the practice of law. In 1877 he was elected as a representative to congress, and remained there until 1890. He was then elected governor of Ohio, which position he held for two terms. In 1896 he became president of the United States, and was reëlected in 1900. In September, 1901, he was assassinated at Buffalo, New York.

McKinley was born in Niles, Ohio, January 29, 1843, and died at Buffalo, New York, September 14, 1901.

668. The Dingley Tariff: The Gold Law.—Though the tariff issue had not played a conspicuous part in the campaign of 1896, many Republicans wished to repeal the Wilson Bill and restore high duties. Consequently, as soon as McKinley was made president, he summoned a special session of congress to pass a tariff act. The result was the Dingley tariff of 1897. The Republicans also fulfilled their pledge to make gold the only metal in which the public debt could be paid. A gold law was passed in March, 1900.

669. Cuban Affairs.—The misgovernment of Spain in Cuba gave rise to endless annoyance to the United States,



WILLIAM McKINLEY

and most Americans believed that we ought to force Spain out of that island. Jefferson, Monroe, and John Quincy Adams all believed that this would be the inevitable outcome, and that Cuba would become part of the United States. Later statesmen were of the same opinion. In 1845 the government offered to give Spain \$100,000,000 for Cuba, but Spain indignantly refused the offer. In 1854, in the Ostend Manifesto, our ministers to England, France, and Spain declared that we would be justified in the forcible seizure of Cuba. In 1873 the Virginius affair wrought the nation to a high degree of frenzy and war was with difficulty averted. Finally Americans were convinced that the United States must interfere by the events arising out of the last Cuban revolution, which began in 1894.

670. The Maine Disaster—Feb. 15, 1898.—In the midst of much popular indignation over the sufferings of Cuba, President McKinley, in January, 1898, sent the battleship *Maine* to Havana to take care of American interests. The Spaniards, who were no less irritated by American threats than were the Americans by Spanish misrule and cruelty, resented this act as insulting to them. At this moment of supreme irritation on both sides, the *Maine* was blown up in Havana harbor on February 15. Precisely who was responsible for this shocking crime has never been learned, but the American people were convinced that Spain was guilty, and clamored for war. Spanish treachery must now be punished.

671. The American Ultimatum.—The government was now bound to intervene. President McKinley therefore sent to Spain a list of terms which must be granted if war was to be averted. Spain must abolish the barbarous reconcentration camps; grant an armistice to the Cubans, and accept peace proposals.

THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR

672. War Declared.—Spain was dilatory in assenting to these propositions, and the people of the United States

were too impatient to suffer even the usual diplomatic delays. On the 19th of April, therefore, congress declared Cuba free and independent, and authorized the president to compel Spain to leave the island. This meant war, and war immediately began.

673. The Naval Warfare.—The American Atlantic squadron was ordered to blockade the Spanish West Indian ports at once. The Pacific squadron, under Commodore Dewey, at Hong Kong, was instructed to go to the Philippine Islands and destroy the Spanish war vessels there. On the 1st of May, 1898, in the darkness of the early morning, Dewey boldly ran into Manila Bay, scorning Spanish mines and Spanish torpedoes. His boldness had its fitting reward. In a few hours, without losing a single man, he either captured or destroyed every one of the Spanish vessels. He then blockaded Manila and waited until troops should be sent to capture the city.

Meanwhile a Spanish squadron, consisting of four cruisers and three torpedo boats, had sailed from Spain under the command of Admiral Cervera. Strong American fleets, under Commodores Sampson and Schley, were kept on the lookout for the Spaniards. Finally Cervera's squadron slipped into the harbor of Santiago de Cuba and was promptly blockaded there. The American commander had an overwhelming force, and it was evident that the Spanish squadron was doomed, unless it could manage to steal away. The blockade, however, was too effective to permit this, and on the 3d of July, in broad daylight, the desperate Spanish admiral made a mad dash for freedom. At once the American fleet came into action, and with destructive energy overwhelmed the flying vessels with a storm of shot and shell. In a few hours every one of the fine Spanish vessels was a hopeless wreck, over 600 Spanish sailors were killed and the rest were made captive. The Americans had lost but one man.

674. The Land Campaigns.—Cervera's entrance into the

harbor of Santiago had drawn not only the American fleet thither, but the American army as well. On the 23d and 24th of June, under the command of General W. R. Shafter, 15,000 American soldiers landed near Santiago and advanced upon the city. After some skirmishing, a battle was fought on the 1st of July at San Juan Hill and El Caney. The Americans lost heavily, but were victors in the fight and continued their advance upon the despairing city. After the destruction of Cervera's squadron the Spanish general lost heart and asked for terms. On the 15th of July he capitulated, and on the 17th the American army entered the city.

Immediately after this event (July 25), General Nelson A. Miles entered Porto Rico, and in a campaign of little more than two weeks, got almost complete possession of that island.

Meanwhile a third army, under General Wesley Merritt, had been sent to Manila, and on the 17th of August, with the assistance of Dewey's fleet, took the city.

675. Peace.—The destruction of Cervera's fleet was a convincing argument to Spain that she had nothing to hope from the war but constant disaster. She sued for peace, and preliminary terms were agreed upon on August 12. On the 10th of December the definitive treaty was signed. Spain relinquished all claims to Cuba, and surrendered Porto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands to the United States. For these cessions, the United States paid to Spain \$20,000,000.

676. Results of the War.—The war ended forever the wornout Spanish tyranny in America; it left the United States in possession of distant colonies and with a number of new and difficult problems to solve. But best of all, and worth all that the war had cost in lives and money, was the fact that it wiped out the last lingering traces of ill feeling between north and south, and cemented the "New Union" forever.

EVENTS SINCE THE WAR

677. The Hawaiian Islands Annexed—1898.—The Hawaiian islands, once almost in the union during Harrison's presidency, and then rejected by Cleveland, were still governing themselves as a republic. In the midst of the war with Spain, the recognition of their value as a naval port in the Pacific forced itself upon the country. In July the question of their annexation was vigorously taken up, and in August congress by joint resolution added them to the United States.

678. The New Policy.—The annexation of Hawaii, Porto Rico, and the Philippines opened up new problems. Hitherto the United States had never annexed territory so distant, or which might not some day be self-governing and enjoy statehood in the union. But it was apparent to all, that whatever the fate of Porto Rico and Hawaii, the Philippines never could become states of the union. Their distance and the nature of their population forbid this. Consequently, there was immediate and determined opposition to taking the islands. To annex them was to begin a new policy—a policy of holding colonies which must be governed from Washington. Even now that the islands are annexed the question still constantly recurs: What shall we do with them?

679. War in the Philippines.—To add confusion to an already confused situation, the Filipinos insisted upon independence, declaring that the United States by its basic principles was in honor bound to govern only with "the consent of the governed." Since the United States would not accept this argument, war broke out. In February, 1899, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, a daring and crafty Filipino, the contest began. The Filipinos were everywhere beaten when they took the field. Soon the struggle settled down into a guerrilla war; Aguinaldo was captured; most of the islands were pacified, but the strife still continues.

680. China, and the "Open Door."—How intimately the United States had become bound to the rest of the world as a consequence of expansion was shown in the part we took in the Chinese difficulties of 1900. In that year what is known as the Boxer revolt attained frightful proportions. This movement was directed against foreigners, and especially missionaries. The infuriated Boxers murdered hundreds of the hated foreigners and among them the German ambassador. In June the movement culminated in the siege of the foreign legations at Peking. For two months the siege continued, while the outside world remained in profound ignorance of the fate of the besieged. England, Russia, Germany, France, the United States, and Japan all sent forces to China, and in August, after stubborn fighting and much bloodshed, the armies reached Peking. The legations were saved, the Boxers were suppressed and punished, and China agreed to pay an enormous sum of money as an indemnity.

Russia meanwhile had seized Manchuria, a large and wealthy province of China and was treating it as her own. Hereupon the United States, Great Britain, and Japan adopted what is known as the policy of the "open door," that is the keeping open of China to commerce on equal terms to all the world. Russia declared her willingness to accede to this policy.

681. Cuba.—Immediately after the peace with Spain, the United States began the work of establishing Cuban independence. The first step was to restore peace and order. This task was entrusted to General Leonard Wood, and was brilliantly performed. Meanwhile, the Cubans met in convention and made a constitution much like that of the United States. They then held elections, and in the autumn of 1901 Tomaso Estrada Palma was chosen as the first president of the Cuban republic. On the 20th of May, 1902, the island was handed over to the new government. Its future progress will be watched with intense eagerness.

The United States is especially interested, both because Cuba is so closely bound to this country and because under what is known as the Platt amendment, the United States is responsible for the good behavior of Cuba. If revolutions arise there, we are required to interfere.

682. The Interoceanic Canal.—Closely allied to the policy of commercial and territorial expansion is the project of a canal between the Atlantic and Pacific. Such a canal may be built across the isthmus of Panama or across Nicaragua, and the United States has been intensely interested in the subject ever since the addition of the Mexican territory to the union in 1848. In 1850 the government made a treaty with England known as the Clayton-Bulwer treaty, which declared that in case a canal was built, neither England nor the United States should “ever obtain, or maintain for itself any exclusive control over the said ship-canal.” The two powers were to join in securing the neutrality of the canal, so that vessels of all nations could pass through it both in time of peace and in time of war. This treaty, satisfactory enough at the time, became less and less so to the United States, as the nation grew larger and larger and saw clearly that the canal was more important to her than to all the world beside. We could not permit any other nation to interfere. Frequent attempts, therefore, were made to have the treaty abrogated, or to secure another more agreeable to the United States. Finally, in 1901, a satisfactory arrangement was reached in the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which virtually leaves the United States free to build and hold the canal on what terms she pleases.

This difficulty settled, there remains the further one of the location of the canal. A French company in 1881 had started to construct a Panama canal, but had failed to carry the project through. It now offers to sell its property to the United States. Though there are many advocates for a Nicaraguan canal, it is pretty generally admitted that the Panama route is the most available, and at present



THEODORE ROOSEVELT
PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

(1902) negotiations are under way with the French company and the governments of the isthmus, which when completed, will allow the United States to build and control the canal along this route.

683. Election of 1900.—Naturally the “paramount issue” in the presidential campaign of 1900 was that of “Imperialism.” The Republicans advocated the keeping of the Philippines, the Democrats declared that they ought to be given up. As in 1896 the candidates were William McKinley and William J. Bryan. Again McKinley was elected, a result claimed as a victory for the policy of retaining the islands.

684. Assassination of President McKinley.—In September, 1901, President McKinley was the guest of the Pan-American Exposition at Buffalo. Here on the 6th of September he was murderously assaulted by a miserable fanatic, who had imbibed anarchistic principles and believed that by assassinating the president of the United States he was assisting in the spread of such doctrines. Sympathy from high and low, rich and poor, in every nation went out to the noble-hearted and kindly man thus struck down. All that medical science could do, was done in the attempt to save the precious life, but on the 14th of September the president died.

The wretched murderer was at once tried, found guilty, and executed.

685. Theodore Roosevelt, who on the death of McKinley, became the twenty-fifth president of the United States, is a member of an old New York family of Dutch descent. He was graduated from Harvard university in 1880, and the next year became a member of the New York legislature, a position which he held for two terms. In 1889 he was appointed United States civil service commissioner, which position he held until 1895, when he became president of the New York board of police commis-

sioners. In 1897 he became first-assistant secretary of the navy. When war broke out with Spain he immediately volunteered, acting first as lieutenant-colonel, and later as colonel of the Rough Riders. After the war he was elected governor of New York state. In 1901 he became vice-president and, at the death of McKinley, president.

Roosevelt has written a number of useful historical books, the best being his volumes on "The Winning of the West," and the "History of the Naval War of 1812."

Roosevelt was born in New York City, October 27, 1858.

CHAPTER XVI

GROWTH OF THE REPUBLIC

1860-1902

686. Growth in Nationality.—The civil war marked the beginning of a new era in national feeling. Never again would a state dare to resist the general government. Extreme care for the rights of the individual states was lost in considering the welfare of the whole union. The whole had become more important than its parts. Never again could a state secure what it wanted by threatening to leave the union. Sectional jealousy was now destined to disappear.

Now that the cause of all the discord between the sections had disappeared in the abolition of slavery, the United States soon took place among the foremost nations of the world. When the sections ceased trying to get the advantage of each other, the people advanced rapidly in invention, in education, in manufactures, and in all that goes to promote general happiness and comfort.

POPULATION

687. Numbers.—The census of 1900 proved that the first rush to the new world had passed; that the remaining public lands were not so attractive as those first offered had been; and that nothing had occurred recently in Europe to drive people to seek new homes. The United States had passed laws to keep out undesirable immigrants, and this also helped to reduce the number. During the ten years since the last census, the population had increased less than ever before. Yet the total of over seventy-six million inhabitants formed quite a contrast with the three and a half million who adopted the constitution. The people had multiplied almost

nineteen times in one hundred and ten years. Since 1830, they had multiplied six times. In population the United States is surpassed only by Russia in Europe, by China and India in Asia, thus taking fourth rank among the civilized nations of the world.

POPULATION OF THE UNITED STATES 1860-1900

STATE	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
Alabama.....	1,828,697	1,513,017	1,262,505	996,992	964,201
Arkansas.....	1,311,564	1,128,179	802,525	484,471	435,450
California.....	1,485,053	1,208,130	864,694	560,247	379,994
Colorado.....	539,700	412,198	194,327	39,864	34,277
Connecticut.....	908,420	746,258	622,700	537,454	460,147
Delaware.....	184,735	168,493	146,608	125,015	112,216
Florida.....	528,542	391,422	269,493	187,748	140,424
Georgia.....	2,216,331	1,837,353	1,542,180	1,184,109	1,057,286
Idaho.....	161,772	84,385	.....	.....	.....
Illinois.....	4,821,550	3,826,351	3,077,871	2,539,891	1,711,951
Indiana.....	2,516,462	2,192,404	1,978,301	1,680,637	1,350,428
Iowa.....	2,231,853	1,911,896	1,624,615	1,194,020	674,913
Kansas.....	1,470,495	1,427,096	996,096	364,399	107,206
Kentucky.....	2,147,174	1,858,635	1,648,690	1,321,011	1,155,684
Louisiana.....	1,381,625	1,118,587	939,946	726,915	708,002
Maine.....	694,466	661,086	648,936	626,915	628,279
Maryland.....	1,188,044	1,042,390	934,943	780,894	687,049
Massachusetts.....	2,805,346	2,238,943	1,783,085	1,457,351	1,231,066
Michigan.....	2,420,982	2,093,889	1,636,937	1,184,059	749,113
Minnesota.....	1,751,394	1,301,826	780,773	439,706	172,023
Mississippi.....	1,551,270	1,289,600	1,131,597	827,922	791,305
Missouri.....	3,106,665	2,679,184	2,168,380	1,721,295	1,182,012
Montana.....	243,329	132,159	.....	.....	.....
Nebraska.....	1,066,300	1,058,910	452,402	122,993	28,841
Nevada.....	42,335	45,761	62,266	42,491	6,857
New Hampshire.....	411,588	376,530	346,991	318,300	326,073
New Jersey.....	1,883,669	1,444,933	1,131,116	906,096	672,035
New York.....	7,268,894	5,997,853	5,082,871	4,382,759	3,880,735
North Carolina.....	1,893,810	1,617,947	1,399,750	1,071,361	992,622
North Dakota.....	319,146	182,719	.....	.....	.....
Ohio.....	4,157,545	3,672,316	3,198,062	2,665,260	2,339,511
Oregon.....	413,536	313,767	174,768	90,923	52,465
Pennsylvania.....	6,302,115	5,258,014	4,282,891	3,521,951	2,906,215
Rhode Island.....	428,556	345,506	276,531	217,353	174,620
South Carolina.....	1,340,316	1,151,149	995,577	705,606	703,708
South Dakota.....	401,570	328,808	.....	.....	.....
Tennessee.....	2,020,616	1,767,518	1,542,359	1,258,520	1,109,801
Texas.....	3,048,710	2,235,523	1,591,749	818,579	604,215
Utah.....	276,749	207,905	.....	.....	.....
Vermont.....	343,641	332,422	332,286	330,551	315,098
Virginia.....	1,854,184	1,655,980	1,512,565	1,225,163	1,596,318
Washington.....	518,103	349,390	.....	.....	.....
West Virginia.....	958,800	762,794	618,457	442,014	.....
Wisconsin.....	2,069,042	1,686,880	1,315,497	1,054,670	775,881
Wyoming.....	92,531	60,705	.....	.....	.....

688. Growth of Cities.—The enormous increase in manufactures and commerce has built up cities in a way which in Washington's time would not have been thought possible. In his time only three people out of every hundred in the United States dwelt in cities. Now thirty-three out of a

hundred, or one-third of all the people, prefer to live in a city. Then there was only one city, New York, that had over 25,000 inhabitants. Now there are 161 cities with more than that number.

TWENTY-FIVE LARGEST CITIES IN 1900 WITH POPULATIONS FROM 1860-1900

CITY	1900	1890	1880	1870	1860
New York, N. Y.*	3,437,202	2,507,414	1,911,698	1,478,103	1,174,779
Chicago, Ill.	1,698,575	1,099,850	503,185	298,977	109,260
Philadelphia, Pa.	1,293,697	1,046,964	847,170	674,022	565,529
St. Louis, Mo.	575,238	451,770	350,518	310,864	160,773
Boston, Mass.	560,892	448,477	362,839	250,526	177,840
Baltimore, Md.	508,957	434,439	332,313	267,354	212,418
Cleveland, O.	381,768	261,353	160,146	92,829	43,417
Buffalo, N. Y.	352,387	255,664	155,134	117,714	81,129
San Francisco, Cal.	342,782	298,997	233,959	149,473	56,802
Cincinnati, O.	325,902	296,908	255,139	216,239	161,044
Pittsburg, Pa.	321,616	238,617	156,389	86,076	49,217
New Orleans, La.	287,104	242,039	216,090	191,418	168,675
Detroit, Mich.	285,704	205,876	116,340	79,577	45,619
Milwaukee, Wis.	285,315	204,468	115,587	71,440	45,246
Washington, D. C.	278,718	230,392	177,624	109,199	61,122
Newark, N. J.	246,070	181,830	136,508	105,059	71,941
Jersey City, N. J.	206,433	163,003	120,722	82,546	29,226
Louisville, Ky.	204,731	161,129	123,758	100,753	68,033
Minneapolis, Minn.	202,718	164,738	46,887	13,066	2,564
Providence, R. I.	175,597	132,146	104,857	68,904	50,666
Indianapolis, Ind.	169,164	105,436	75,056	48,244	18,611
Kansas City, Mo.	163,752	132,716	55,785	32,260	4,418
St. Paul, Minn.	163,065	133,156	41,473	20,030	10,401
Rochester, N. Y.	162,608	133,896	98,366	62,386	48,204
Denver, Colo.	133,859	106,713	35,629	4,759	4,749

* Estimated for Greater New York district by Director of Census since 1860.

Some cities have increased more rapidly than others. Chicago, for instance, situated at the end of a lake that pushes trade around it and thus becomes a transfer point for the northwest, was not worth counting separately in 1830. Ten years later it had five thousand inhabitants and in 1900 numbered over a million and a half. Another western city, Kansas City, increased nearly twenty times in the twenty years before 1900, and a southern city, Birmingham, Alabama, multiplied over twelve times during the same period. The enormous increase of factories and the centralization of railroads are largely responsible for the growth of cities.

689. Growth of Territory.—The home possessions of the United States changed little between 1860 and 1900. The additions came in the shape of colonial territory—Alaska,

Hawaii, Porto Rico, Tutuila, and the Philippines. The main body of the national domain stretches from ocean to ocean and from the Lakes to the Gulf. It contains over three million square miles. This is three and one-half times as much land as the republic had when it began in 1783. Or if the new colonial territory be counted in, we own more than four times as much as we began with. Over all this expanse of the continental United States the people are distributed, except in some portions of the Rocky Mountains, where mining is not carried on and in the dry regions about them, where there is not sufficient rainfall to allow farming.

690. Public Lands.—Although the United States government has sold millions of acres of its public lands to make homes for its inhabitants, it still owns over half a billion acres in the western states. This is selling very slowly because most of it is mountainous, and also because the mountains prevent sufficient rainfall on adjacent parts of it. For years farmers and companies have been digging ditches to convey water from the streams to this arid land, but the work is costly and only a small part of it has thus far been irrigated. The United States government is being asked to undertake this work, as a kind of "internal improvement," just as it formerly built wagon roads and helped to build canals and railroads. So important has irrigation become that the president has frequently called the attention of congress to it.

Montana has the most of this vacant United States land, and much of it is irrigable. New Mexico is next, and is even more capable of irrigation than Montana. So the number of acres ranges down to Nebraska with nine million and Kansas with one million acres. The land in these states lies largely in the "sub-arid" district, which does not need irrigation so badly as states further west.

EDUCATION

691. The Public Schools.—Few nations have tried to secure the education of all the people as systematically as has the

United States. Of all children between the ages of five and eighteen it is believed that fully fifteen out of every twenty-two attend school a portion of the year. Of these fifteen, one represents those who attend private schools, and the other fourteen those who attend public schools. Over two hundred million dollars are spent every year on the schools. The high schools have improved until they now give a better education than the colleges afforded a century ago.

The national government, although it has donated public lands to aid the public schools, has allowed each state to manage its own school system. As the newer states in the west came into existence, they at once established public schools, in some respects superior to those of the older states. The southern states, also, in recent years have extended their school system, voting to its support large amounts of money raised by public taxation.

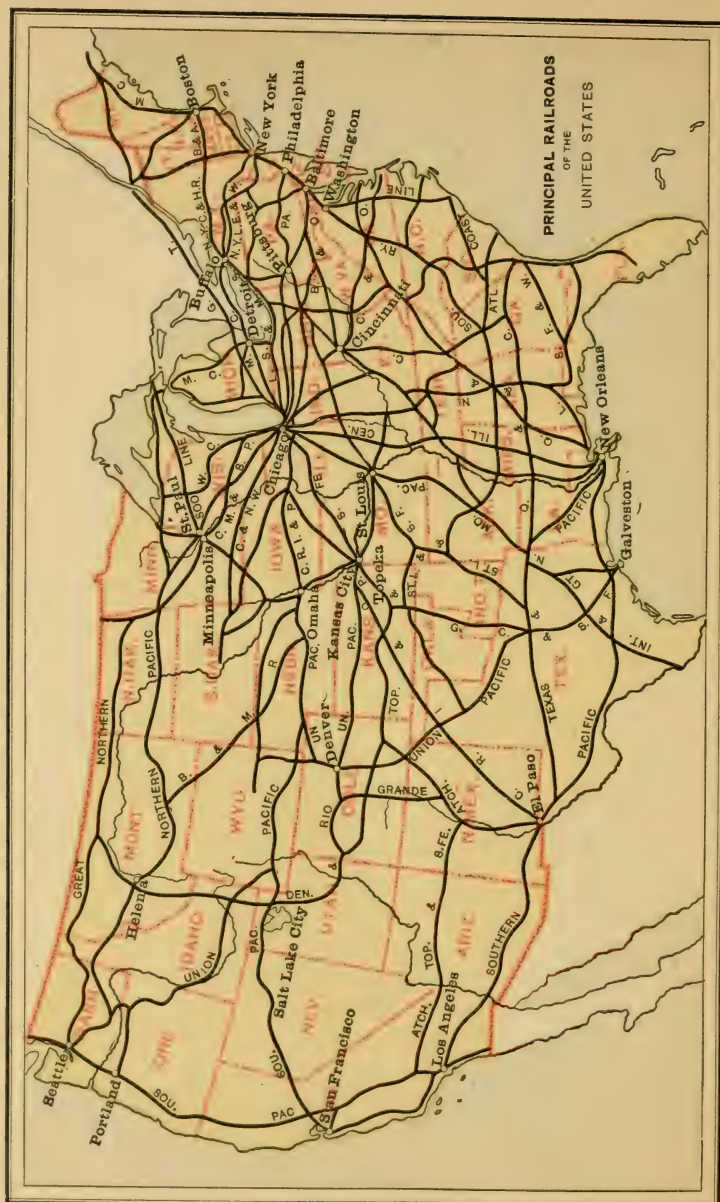
692. The Colleges.—In 1862 the national government gave to each state an amount of public land proportionate to its population for the purpose of establishing a college of agriculture and mechanic arts. Some states added this work to the state university proper; others founded a separate agricultural college. Several independent universities have been established by wealthy men and many of the old colleges and universities have been given large sums of money by persons interested in them. To crown all, a true “university” has been endowed by Mr. Andrew Carnegie, to be located at Washington City and to be devoted to the most intensive scholarship. Mr. Carnegie has also aided hundreds of cities and towns in establishing libraries for the people. The gifts to education in the United States in recent years have been the wonder and admiration of the world.

Neither the men who founded Harvard and Yale, nor the tutors and students who struggled along on a few hundred pounds a year could have dreamed of the present time when colleges and universities in the United States have in some years more than twenty million dollars to spend;

when they number over four hundred institutions of learning, scattered all through the states and territories; and when they have more students attending them than there were people in the colonies at the time Harvard was founded.

693. National Expositions.—As a means of education, the national government encourages exhibits of American and foreign workmanship and everything which illustrates the growth of the republic. In two cases, it has patronized extensively these exhibitions. The first was held in Philadelphia, in 1876, to celebrate the one-hundredth anniversary of independence. Buildings were erected at a cost of over \$7,000,000, in which all the civilized nations of the world placed exhibits. During the six months it was open, 9,910,966 people visited the Centennial Exposition. The second was held in Chicago, in 1893, in remembrance of the four-hundredth year since Columbus discovered America. On the banks of Lake Michigan, the “White City” was erected at a cost of \$30,000,000. Here were placed the displays of 65,422 exhibitors. In six months the “World’s Fair” was visited by 27,529,400 people. Prizes were given to encourage art, invention, discovery, and the manufacture of everything to improve the condition of the people.

694. The Newspapers.—It would be a difficult matter for Franklin and the editors of his day, who issued their small papers once a week with great labor, to imagine the twenty thousand newspapers of the present time, with their telegraph wires extending like nerves to all parts of the civilized world. How surprised the colonial printer would be,—remembering how he placed each sheet of paper separately on his type before applying the pressure by hand,—to see a great roll of paper placed by a derrick into a press which would fill a small room, and then to see the press print, fold, and count the papers,—discharging them at the other end of the press at the rate of 1,600 a minute. Readers of colonial days who had to await the arrival of a sailing vessel from England with the books they had ordered weeks before



PRINCIPAL RAILROADS
OF THE
UNITED STATES

could now be amply supplied by the four thousand new books written each year by American authors, of which hundreds of thousands of copies are printed.

TRANSPORTATION

695. Decay of Canals.—The old canals, carrying small boats drawn by horses, have been abandoned in many states. Some are supported simply to keep down the freight rates of the railroads. The only canals constructed in recent times have been those large enough to carry steamships from one body of water to another. The railroads have also driven the river packets almost out of the passenger traffic, and have seriously reduced their freight traffic. About the only commercial use to which rivers are put at present is for floating timber and coal to market.

696. Increase of Railroads.—On the other hand, the railroads have increased enormously, four tracks being necessary between some cities to accommodate the frequent trains. In 1860 there were 30,626 miles of railroad in operation in the United States. Now there are almost 200,000 miles. If they were put end to end they would reach eight times around the world. Travel at present on fast trains with the sleeping and dining cars is one of the comforts of the modern world. What a change from the time when Mrs. John Adams lost her way in the woods between Baltimore and the new capital, when taking her first trip in a quaint, old-fashioned carriage from Boston to Washington to become the first mistress of the White House! Then it took two weeks for the trip; now but a few short hours.

The railroads carry the grain and stock of the farmer to market and bring implements, clothing, and such food as he cannot raise. These markets are commonly at a point where the farm products can be reshipped by water. That is why such railroad cities as Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Baltimore, Charleston, St. Louis, New Orleans, and San Francisco have arisen. Or, railroads may find a center in a

mining region such as Denver or Chattanooga. Even agriculture may make a common point for railroad exchange, such as Indianapolis or Omaha.

Railroads have a tendency to unite and form "trunk lines," running a long distance, which makes shipping easier. Chicago and St. Louis are half-way points for trunk lines in the northern states. On the eastern side, the New York Central and the Lake Shore systems, the Pennsylvania system, the Erie, the Baltimore and Ohio, the Grand Trunk, and the Lehigh Valley form great through lines to the seaboard. In the west, the Santa Fe extends to the Pacific coast, while the Burlington, the Milwaukee, the Rock Island, and the Chicago and Northwestern systems stretch away to the Rockies and make direct connections with the coast. The Northern Pacific railroad is a great trunk line between St. Paul and the Pacific coast. In the southern states, the Plant system and the Southern railroad system extend long lines between prominent points. From Chicago to New Orleans through the Mississippi valley runs the Illinois Central line.

GROWTH OF INDUSTRIES

697. Invention.—The United States with its great extent of territory, its fertile soil, its mineral wealth, and its water courses, has offered special attractions to inventors. The United States has produced its share of these master minds. The name of Whitney stands almost alone with the cotton gin, Howe with the sewing machine, McCormick with the grain reaper, Pullman with the sleeping car, and Edison with the phonograph. Fulton made the steamboat a success, as Morse did the telegraph, and Field the cable. Hoe is associated with the printing press, Colt with fire-arms, Ericsson with war vessels, Bell with the telephone, Francis with the life-boat, and Mergenthaler with the type-setter.

The patent office at Washington contains models of all the important patents. It shows the development and use of electricity from Franklin to Edison. There were less than

400 patents issued in 1830; there were more than 25,000 in 1900. The United States has issued nearly as many patents as Great Britain, Germany, and France combined. The largest number has been for agricultural implements.

698. Manufactures.—The coal, wood and minerals of the United States are widely scattered. This makes possible not only manufactories in many places but also the rapid completion of work. Some of the states are very fortunate in the great variety of their natural products. It is said that if a high wall were built entirely around the state of Pennsylvania that she could still clothe, feed, and house her people without assistance from the outside world. The United States has become known for the rapidity with which she completes locomotives, bridges, ships, and other large undertakings. Her goods reach every part of the world. American trolley cars run in Palestine, and American canned vegetables are eaten along the Nile. American shoes outsell those of foreign make in both Paris and London.

699. Agriculture.—The agricultural products of the United States now play an important part in feeding the people of the old world. Great grain vessels steamed back over the routes along which the timid explorers sailed centuries ago. The explorers did not know that they were finding the future granaries of the world. Although only one out of every twenty inhabitants of the earth dwells in the United States, yet this country produces one out of every five bushels of wheat to feed the world.

In order to bring the very necessary occupation of farming to a higher degree of skill, the national government has given large sums of money to the different states with which agricultural experiment "stations" have been established to study the soil, determine what products it is fitted for, how to plant and cultivate the crops, and how to defend them against injurious insects. Descriptions of these tests and experiments made in the stations are printed and distributed free to the farmer who asks for them. The government also

supports a weather bureau to forecast the kind of weather, by means of which the farmer may be warned of frost and storms or may prepare for rain.

POLITICAL PARTIES SINCE THE CIVIL WAR

700. Political Parties from 1868 to 1880.—Since the presidential election of 1868, there have been eight presidential campaigns. In six of these contests the Republicans have been successful; in two, the Democrats. These two great rival parties have in the main adhered to the two distinct theories of government advocated by the two leading parties which appeared at the time of the organization of the government—the Democratic-Republican and the Federalist parties. Each, however, has somewhat modified its views during the course of the political development of the republic. Since the war, a large number of political parties have appeared, many of which have taken a part in the presidential campaigns.

As has been related, in the election of 1872 the Liberal Republicans bolted from the regular Republican nominee and selected Horace Greeley as their standard bearer. The national convention of the Democratic party of that year endorsed Greeley's candidacy. The "straight out" Democrats, however, nominated a candidate of their own. In this campaign, the Labor Reform party placed a candidate in the field, who stood for the abolition of contract labor in prisons, opposed Chinese labor, and asked that a work day be limited to eight hours. The Prohibition party asked for woman's suffrage, and favored an amendment to the constitution prohibiting the sale of liquor as a beverage.

In the contest of 1876, the Greenback, or the Independent party, appeared for the first time, with Peter Cooper as its standard bearer. It opposed the resumption of specie payment, and favored the issue of greenback currency. The Prohibition party stood for the principles advocated in the previous campaign, while the American National, or Anti-

Secret Society party, favored the prohibition of the liquor traffic and opposed secret societies.

701. Political Parties from 1880 to 1892.—In the contest of 1880, the National Greenback party nominated General James B. Weaver of Iowa, and favored the principles advocated by the Peter Cooper party in 1876. The Prohibition party named Neal Dow of Maine as its standard bearer.

In the contest of 1884, the National Greenback party, or People's party, nominated General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts as its standard bearer. This party at the time was also called the Anti-Monopolist party. They favored the greenback currency and opposed monopolies. The Prohibition party nominated John P. St. John of Kansas.

In 1888 the Prohibitionists stood for their distinctive principles and nominated Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey. The Union Labor party nominated Alson J. Streeter of Illinois. It opposed monopolies, favored the government ownership of transportation lines, and declared for the free coinage of silver and an income tax. The United Labor party nominated Robert H. Cowdry of Illinois. It opposed the placing of a tax on any industry or its products, and favored the taxing of land only. It also favored government control of railroads and telegraphs, and the reduction of hours of labor. The American party nominated James L. Curtis of New York, and stood for the repeal of all naturalization laws, and it further asked that no alien nonresident be allowed to hold land in America. It also asked for an educational qualification for voters.

702. Political Parties from 1892 to 1900.—In 1892 the Prohibitionists named John Biddle of California; the Socialist Labor party, Simon Wing of Massachusetts, and the People's party, James B. Weaver of Iowa. In this contest, the People's party appeared for the first time as a national party, receiving twenty-two of the electoral votes for its candidate. It stood for the free coinage of silver at the

ratio of 16 to 1. It asked for an income tax and for the ownership of railroads, telegraph, and telephone systems.

In the campaign of 1896, the Republicans named William McKinley, favored a gold standard, and a protective tariff, and opposed the free coinage of silver. The Free Silver Democrats nominated William Jennings Bryan of Nebraska, favored the free coinage of silver, and opposed tariff for protective purposes. The People's, or Populist, party nominated William Jennings Bryan as its candidate, and held for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and asked for a system of direct legislation, known as the "initiative and referendum" (which would refer all important legislation to the people for rejection or approval by their votes), and for the abolition of the electoral college in the election of president. It again stood for government ownership of the transportation and the telegraph business of the country. The Prohibition party placed Joshua Levering of Maryland in the field, and stood for its old-time principles. The Free Silver Republican party bolted the regular Republican nominee and endorsed the candidacy of William Jennings Bryan. The National Democratic party, known as the Sound Money Democracy, bolted the regular Democratic nominee and named John M. Palmer of Illinois. The Free Silver Prohibition party bolted the regular Prohibition nominee, favored the free coinage of silver, and named Charles E. Bentley of Nebraska as its standard bearer. The Socialist Labor party placed Charles Matchett of New York in nomination for the presidency.

703. Contest of 1900.—In the election of 1900, the Republicans named McKinley, and stood for the issues they had advocated four years previously, and favored holding all the islands acquired from Spain. The Democrats named Bryan, standing for the principles of 1896, and opposed holding the acquired islands. The Prohibition party named John G. Woolley of Illinois. The People's, or Populist party again named Bryan. The Middle of the Road People's

party named Wharton Barker of Pennsylvania. The Socialist Democratic party named Eugene V. Debs of Indiana; the Socialist Labor party, Joseph F. Maloney of Massachusetts. The Union Reform, or Direct Legislation party named Seth H. Ellis of Ohio.

It will be seen from this statement of the number of parties appearing since the war that the tendency of the American people has been more and more in the direction of independence in voting. However, the Democratic and Republican parties have held the contest pretty closely in hand, and are to-day the two large parties before the American people. The only other party for political honors which has secured a vote in the electoral college since the civil war is the People's party, which secured, as already stated, twenty-two votes in the contest of 1892.

NATIONAL FEELING

704. The New Unionism.—The *way* for a future union was cleared by the Declaration of Independence; a *form* of union was created by the constitution; *a real union exists only in the hearts of the people*. For over a century we have been slowly filling out the form of union. The task has caused much strife, several compromises, and one war. Only by bitter experience have we learned that union is necessary for our peace and happiness. Much of this trouble might have been avoided if the people had not been so widely scattered that misunderstandings could easily arise. Mountains, dense forests, and broad plains frequently separated one portion from another. At the present time, distance is annihilated by four great agencies which have been highly developed in America—the locomotive, the newspaper, the telegraph, and the telephone. The whole people have become so united by business, by friendships, by family relations, by sympathy and by national pride in their mutual achievements, that a union of hearts has replaced the earlier union

of form. We no longer say as did our fathers "The United States are," but we say "The United States is."

705. The New American Era.—It is a common saying that since the recent war with Spain the United States has entered upon a new era; that it has adopted a policy of holding colonies; and that it has taken its place among the nations of the world. Although this country was never entirely separated from the other nations during the century of its home development, nevertheless the holding of such scattered possessions as colonies must give it a share in the world councils. It will also be obliged to adjust its home affairs to the welfare of its colonies. All this will be the work of years.

How can the United States succeed in the future as it has succeeded in the past? Only by holding true to the high ideals which prompted the fathers in their work; only by cultivating national honesty and national pride; only by realizing that we are the heirs of the ages and that we have inherited the evils of the past, which we must cast out, as well as the good of the past which we must preserve. Above all, we shall prosper and be safe only by each member of the republic assuming his full share of the public duties; by voting at each election, if that right shall have been granted him, for the best candidate; by refusing to sell this precious birthright; by paying his just share of the public taxes; by accepting office, if he can fill it, whether it pays a salary or not; and by always speaking well instead of ill of the great republic which God and our fathers have given to us.

HISTORICAL TABLES

STATES AND TERRITORIES, SETTLEMENT, ADMISSION, POPULATION, AREAS

STATE	FIRST SETTLEMENT		Date of Ad- mis- sion	Pop- ulation when Admitted	Pop- ulation, 1900	Area in Square Miles	Pupils Enrolled in Public Schools, 1900
	When	Where					
Delaware..	1638	Wilmington	1787	59,096	184,735	2,360	33,174
Penn.....	1682	Philadelphia.....	1787	434,373	6,302,115	45,215	1,151,880
New Jersey	1665	Elizabethtown....	1787	184,139	1,883,669	8,175	315,055
Georgia...	1733	Savannah	1788	82,548	2,216,331	59,475	482,673
Conn.....	1635	Saybrooke.....	1788	237,946	908,355	4,990	908,355
Mass.....	1620	Plymouth.....	1788	378,787	2,805,346	8,315	474,891
Maryland..	1634	St. Mary's.....	1788	319,728	1,190,050	12,210	229,332
S. C.....	1670	Charleston.....	1788	249,073	1,340,316	30,570	281,891
N. H.....	1623	Dover	1788	141,885	411,588	9,305	65,193
Virginia...	1607	Jamestown	1788	747,610	1,854,184	42,450	358,825
New York.	1613	New York.....	1788	340,120	7,268,012	49,220	1,209,574
N. C.....	1653	Albemarle.....	1789	393,751	1,893,810	52,250	400,452
Rhode Is..	1636	Providence	1790	68,825	428,556	1,250	64,537
Vermont..	1724	Fort Dummer....	1791	85,425	343,641	9,565	65,964
Kentucky.	1775	Boonesboro	1792	73,677	2,147,174	40,400	501,893
Tennessee.	1757	Fort Loudon.....	1796	35,691	2,020,616	42,050	485,354
Ohio.....	1788	Marietta.....	1803	45,365	4,157,545	41,060	829,160
Louisiana.	1718	New Orleans.....	1812	76,556	1,381,625	48,720	196,169
Indiana...	1719	Vincennes.....	1816	24,520	2,516,462	36,350	564,807
Miss.....	1699	Biloxi.....	1817	75,448	1,551,270	46,810	360,177
Illinois...	1682	Kaskaskia.....	1818	55,162	4,821,550	56,650	958,911
Alabama...	1702	Mobile Bay.....	1819	127,901	1,828,697	52,250	376,423
Maine.....	1623	Bristol.....	1820	298,269	694,466	33,040	130,918
Missouri...	1755	St. Genevieve....	1821	66,557	3,106,665	69,415	719,817
Arkansas...	1685	Arkansas Post....	1836	30,388	1,311,564	53,850	374,662
Michigan...	1701	Detroit.....	1837	2 12,267	2,420,982	58,915	498,665
Florida...	1565	St. Augustine....	1845	54,477	528,542	58,680	108,874
Texas.....	1685	Matagorda Bay...	1845	212,592	3,048,710	265,780	578,418
Iowa.....	1833	Burlington.....	1846	43,112	2,231,853	56,025	554,992
Wisconsin	1745	Green Bay.....	1848	305,391	2,069,042	56,040	445,142
California.	1769	San Diego.....	1850	92,597	1,485,053	158,360	269,736
Minnesota	1819	Fort Snelling....	1858	182,023	1,751,394	83,365	399,217
Oregon.....	1811	Astoria.....	1859	52,465	413,536	96,030	89,405
Kansas....	1854	Leavenworth.....	1861	107,206	1,470,495	82,080	389,583
West Va...	1764	Upshur County...	1863	442,014	958,800	24,780	232,343
Nevada....	1850	Genoa.....	1864	6,857	42,335	110,700	6,676
Nebraska...	1847	Bellevue.....	1867	122,993	1,068,539	77,510	288,227
Colorado...	1859	Denver.....	1876	39,864	539,700	103,925	117,555
N. Dakota.	1812	Pembino.....	1889	182,719	319,146	70,795	77,686
S. Dakota.	1859	Yankton.....	1889	328,808	401,570	77,650	96,822
Montana...	1809	Yellowstone R....	1889	132,159	243,329	146,080	39,430
Wash.....	1811	Columbia River...	1889	349,390	518,103	69,180	97,916
Idaho.....	1842	Coeur d'Alene....	1890	84,385	161,772	84,800	36,669
Wyoming...	1867	Cheyenne.....	1890	60,705	92,531	97,890	14,512
Utah.....	1847	Salt Lake City...	1896	207,905	276,749	84,970	73,042

TERRITORIES

District of Columbia	1791	14,093	278,718	70	46,519
New Mexico	1850	61,547	195,310	122,580	36,735
Indian Ter. (limits defined)	1854	.....	391,960	31,400	23,658
Arizona.....	1863	9,658	122,931	113,020	16,504
Alaska.....	1868	.....	63,441	.....	1,681
Oklahoma	1889	61,834	398,245	39,020	99,602
Hawaii.....	1900	154,001	154,001	6,149	11,501

SOME IMPORTANT PRODUCTS OF DIFFERENT STATES IN THE YEAR 1900

STATE	CORN	HAY	WHEAT	OATS	COTTON	COAL	GOLD	SILVER
Alabama	\$17,026,446				\$47,630,000	(b) \$8,844,500		
Arkansas	19,447,157				86,294,060		\$15,197,800	
California	\$22,071,594		16,555,304				25,982,800	
Colorado	13,551,811					(b) 5,653,955		\$29,301,527
Connecticut	7,150,586							
Georgia	19,448,132				61,680,850			4,980,105
Idaho								
Illinois	84,536,392	17,803,120	11,508,524	30,737,863		(b) 26,160,086		
Indiana	49,024,556	16,218,657		10,319,188		(b) 6,612,295		
Iowa	82,882,186	34,043,996	12,860,952	26,114,428		(b) 5,293,237		
Kansas	52,438,002	18,343,148	45,368,760	9,904,707		(b) 4,687,489		
Kentucky	27,706,890		8,585,564			(b) 5,100,852		
Louisiana	12,351,229				34,245,970			
Maine		10,929,761						
Maryland	6,245,449							
Massachusetts		9,571,166	10,783,372					
Michigan	14,388,730	9,325,981	6,397,517	8,759,279				
Minnesota	9,220,465	9,892,241	32,450,829	10,057,691				
Mississippi	14,634,559				45,248,500			
Missouri	57,827,529	19,237,704						
Montana		5,138,725	11,873,429	5,679,936			4,760,100	20,810,990
Nebraska	65,233,820	13,593,368	13,143,007	9,066,857				
New Hampshire		8,038,083						
New Jersey		8,000,587						
New York	8,100,335	47,095,474	5,002,048	14,252,472				
North Carolina	16,980,403		4,887,858		25,815,400			
North Dakota			7,642,204					
Ohio	36,342,664	18,263,407	6,051,952	10,488,539		(b) 21,498,104		
Oklahoma			9,888,498					
Oregon		11,404,178	8,908,907					
Pennsylvania	14,718,555	37,148,598	14,602,560	11,400,262		(a) 102,680,478		
South Carolina	8,402,648				43,390,920	(b) 82,491,096		
South Dakota	9,401,458	8,153,574	11,686,817				6,469,500	
Tennessee	27,928,961		9,239,910		16,670,500*			
Texas	38,522,568		14,973,384	8,483,470	181,422,670†			9,171,135
Utah								
Vermont	11,785,090							
Virginia	13,810,042	7,845,469	6,783,791					
Washington		8,041,664	12,790,297					
West Virginia	9,649,854	7,387,840				(b) 21,999,473		
Wisconsin	16,350,589	11,757,116	8,426,623	14,253,457				

* Includes all other cotton-producing states not mentioned. † Texas and Indian Territory. (a) Anthracite coal. (b) Bituminous coal.

STATES AND TERRITORIES, CAPITALS, GOVERNOR, LEGISLATURE

STATES AND TERRITORIES	Capitals	Governor		Legislature Limit of Session
		Term	Salary	
Alabama	Montgomery . .	2 years	\$3,000	50 days
Alaska Territory	Sitka	4 years	3,000	.....
Arizona	Phoenix.	4 years	2,600	60 days
Arkansas	Little Rock. . . .	2 years	3,500	60 days
California	Sacramento. . . .	4 years	6,000	60 days
Colorado.	Denver.	2 years	5,000	90 days
Connecticut	Hartford.	2 years	4,000	None
Delaware.	Dover.	4 years	2,000	None
Dist. of Columbia.	Washington . . . .	.....	.....	.....
Florida	Tallahassee. . . .	4 years	3,500	60 days
Georgia	Atlanta	2 years	3,000	50 days
Guam Colony	Agana. . . . .	.....	.....	.....
Hawaii Colony	Honolulu	4 years	5,000	.....
Idaho	Boise City	2 years	3,000	60 days
Illinois	Springfield	4 years	6,000	None
Indiana	Indianapolis	4 years	5,000	60 days
Iowa	Des Moines	2 years	4,100	None
Indian Territory	Tablequah.	4 years	1,500	.....
Kansas	Topeka	2 years	3,000	50 days
Kentucky	Frankfort.	4 years	6,500	60 days
Louisiana	Baton Rouge	4 years	5,000	60 days
Maine	Augusta	2 years	2,000	None
Maryland	Annapolis	4 years	4,500	90 days
Massachusetts.	Boston	1 year	8,000	None
Michigan	Lansing	2 years	4,000	None
Minnesota	St. Paul	2 years	5,000	90 days
Mississippi	Jackson.	4 years	3,500	None
Missouri.	Jefferson City	4 years	5,000	70 days
Montana	Helena	4 years	5,000	60 days
Nebraska.	Lincoln	2 years	2,500	60 days
Nevada	Carson City	4 years	4,000	60 days
New Hampshire.	Concord	2 years	2,000	None
New Jersey	Trenton	3 years	10,000	None
New Mexico.	Santa Fe.	4 years	2,600	60 days
New York	Albany.	2 years	10,000	None
North Carolina	Raleigh.	4 years	3,000	60 days
North Dakota.	Bismarck.	2 years	3,000	60 days
Ohio	Columbus.	2 years	8,000	None
Oklahoma Ter.	Guthrie.	4 years	2,600	60 days
Oregon.	Salem	4 years	1,500	40 days
Pennsylvania	Harrisburg	4 years	10,000	None
Philippines Pro.	Manila. . . . .	.....	.....	.....
Porto Rico Colony.	San Juan.	4 years	8,000	.....
Rhode Island.	Newport and Providence.	1 year	3,000	None
South Carolina	Columbia	2 years	3,000	40 days
South Dakota.	Pierre.	2 years	2,500	60 days
Tennessee	Nashville	2 years	4,000	75 days
Texas	Austin	2 years	4,000	60 days
Utah	Salt Lake City	4 years	2,000	60 days
Vermont	Montpelier.	2 years	1,500	None
Virginia	Richmond	4 years	5,000	90 days
Washington	Olympia.	4 years	4,000	90 days
West Virginia	Charleston.	4 years	2,700	45 days
Wisconsin	Madison	2 years	5,000	None
Wyoming	Cheyenne	4 years	2,500	40 days

PRESIDENTS, VICE-PRESIDENTS, SECRETARIES OF STATE, AND CHIEF JUSTICES

No.	PRESIDENT	STATE	TERM OF OFFICE	BY WHOM ELECTED	No. OF STATES VOTING	VICE-PRESIDENT	SECRETARY OF STATE	CHIEF JUSTICE SUPREME COURT
1	George Washington..	Va.....	Two; 1789-97.....	All.....	(10) (15)	John Adams.....	{ Thomas Jefferson { Edmund Randolph { Timothy Pickering { John Marshall	John Jay 1789-1795 John Rutledge 1795-1795 Oliver Ellsworth 1796-1800 John Marshall 1801-1835
2	John Adams.....	Mass.....	One; 1797-1801.....	Fed.....	16	Thomas Jefferson.....	{ James Madison { Robert Smith { James Munroe	
3	Thomas Jefferson....	Va.....	Two; 1801-09.....	Dem.-Rep.	(16) (17)	{ Aaron Burr..... { George Clinton.....		
4	James Madison.....	Va.....	Two; 1809-17.....	Dem.-Rep.	(17) (18)	{ Elbridge Gerry..... { Daniel D. Tompkins..		
5	James Monroe.....	Va.....	Two; 1817-25.....	Dem.-Rep.	(19) (24)	John C. Calhoun.....	John Quincy Adams	
6	John Quincy Adams..	Mass....	One; 1825-29.....	House.....	24		Henry Clay { Martin Van Buren { Edward Livingston { Louis McLane { John Forsyth	Roger B. Taney 1836-1864
7	Andrew Jackson.....	Tenn.....	Two; 1829-37.....	Dem.....	(24) (24)	{ John C. Calhoun..... { Martin Van Buren....		
8	Martin Van Buren....	N. Y.....	One; 1837-41.....	Dem.....	26	Richard M. Johnson..	John Forsyth	
9	William H. Harrison..	Ohio.....	One m.; 1841-..	Whigs.....	26	John Tyler.....	Daniel Webster { Hugh S. Legare { Abel P. Upshur { John C. Calhoun	
10	John Tyler.....	Va.....	3 yrs. 11 m.; 1841-45	Whigs.....	..		James Buchanan John M. Clayton { Daniel Webster { Edward Everett William L. Marcy { Lewis Cass { Jeremiah S. Black	
11	James K. Polk.....	Tenn.....	One; 1845-49.....	Dem.....	26	George M. Dallas.....		
12	Zachary Taylor.....	La.....	1 yr. 4 m.; 1849-50.	Whigs.....	30	Millard Fillmore.....		
13	Millard Fillmore....	N. Y.....	2 yrs. 8 m.; 1850-53	Whigs.....	..		William R. King.....	
14	Franklin Pierce.....	N. Hamp	One; 1853-57.....	Dem.....	31	J. C. Breckinridge....		
15	James Buchanan.....	Penn.....	One; 1857-61.....	Dem.....	31	{ Hannibal Hamlin.... { Andrew Johnson....		
16	Abraham Lincoln.....	Ill.....	One 1 m.; 1861-65	Rep.....	(33) (25)		{ William H. Seward William H. Seward { Edwin B. Washburne Hamilton Fish William M. Evarts James G. Blaine F. T. Frelinghuysen Thomas F. Bayard James F. Blaine Walter Q. Gresham Richard J. Olney John Sherman John Hay	Salmon P. Chase 1864-1873 Morrison R. Waite 1874-1888
17	Andrew Johnson.....	Tenn.....	3 yrs. 11 m.; 1865-69	Rep.....	..			
18	Clydes S. Grant.....	Ill.....	Two; 1869-77.....	Rep.....	(34) (35)	{ Schuyler Colfax..... { Henry Wilson.....		
19	Rutherford B. Hayes..	Ohio.....	One; 1877-81.....	Rep.....	38	William A. Wheeler..		
20	James A. Garfield....	Ohio.....	6 m.; 1881.....	Rep.....	38	Chester A. Arthur.....		
21	Ulysses A. Grant.....	N. Y.....	3 yrs. 5 m.; 1881-85	Rep.....	..			
22	Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y.....	One; 1885-89.....	Dem.....	38	Thomas A. Hendricks..		
23	Benjamin Harrison....	Ind.....	One; 1889-93.....	Rep.....	38	Levi P. Morton.....		
	Grover Cleveland.....	N. Y.....	One; 1893-97.....	Dem.....	44	Adlai E. Stevenson....		
24	William McKinley....	Ohio.....	One 7 m.; 1897-1901	Rep.....	(45) (45)	{ Garret A. Hobart.... { Theodore Roosevelt..		
25	Theodore Roosevelt..	N. Y.....	1901—.....	Rep.....	..			

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